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THE STORY OF OLD JAPAN

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BY

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PREFACE

iter, in this book, has endeavoured to tell the
Japan from the creation to the accession of the
mperor, when Old Japan—the Japan of feudal-
seclusion—may be said to have come to an end
v nation to have been born, which was destined
the world by a wondrous display of military,
e and industrial progress.

are many Histories of Japan by English or
writers, and in the works of Kaempfer,—
l from the German—Dickson, Adams, Griffis
ray abundant material will be found by those
re to form more than a general acquaintance
subject. Those who desire to extend their
still further, to acquire an esoteric knowledge
i periods, personages, or great political or
movements, will find a storehouse closely
with golden treasures of information in the
ons of the Asiatic Society of Japan, every
f which contains able monographs by scholarly
who have investigated in Japan the varied
with which they deal. Above all, they will find
s, held by the Japanese themselves, faithfully
in the exact translations of native classics,
ve been made by Satow, Aston, and Chamber-
three great English scholars, whose knowledge
panese language and literature does not fall
t of the most accomplished Japanese literati.

All these works, whether histories, monographs or translations, are for the serious student, rather than for t
lay reader, who, without leisure for painstaking
may still desire to possess some knowledge of
esting mythology and history of a country th
playing so great a part in the theatre of the w
is bound to our own by close political and cc
ties. It has been the aim of the present writer
this deficiency and to provide a narrative,
sequence, of all the great periods in Japanes
written in a style which will render its perusal
task than that of an ordinary novel, to tell, in f
Story" of Japan throughout the long ages of
just as the novelist tells the story of his own h
their lives. An attempt has been already ma
this story in an even more concise manner in
articles in the *Nineteenth Century and After*.
interest which, the writer found, was aroused
articles among his own associates that tempt
use the wealth of material that was at his dis
his own knowledge to extend the articles into t
volume.

Its nature has left little scope for original
The story of the Mythology and the Dark Ages
taken principally from Chamberlain's and
exhaustive translations of the Kojiki and the
the former published in the Transactions of t
Society of Japan, the latter in those of the Jap
of London. The circumstances of the latter
not render its transactions so valuable a
original information as are those of the form
in the papers contributed by its Japanese me
members who are also contributors to the Asia
of Japan, and in those dealing with the arts
which are written by the best experts in Eng
the society would have amply justified its exist

to the most exacting historical or sociological critic, had it done nothing else but publish Dr. Aston's translation. The story of the Minamoto and Hōjō periods has been condensed from Satow's translations of fragments of the Nihon Guaishi, which were published in the columns of the *Japan Mail* far back in the seventies of the last century, of which there are very few files now in existence, and those that are accessible only to a very limited number of investigators. All these translations repeat the intense minuteness which characterizes the originals, in which the native writers may almost be said to have revelled, and that minuteness, as well as the multiplicity of Japanese names that are recorded with not much greater attempt at literary grace than might be found in an auctioneer's catalogue, renders the task of extracting the pearls of legend and history that are hidden beneath their unattractive shells, far too wearisome and bewildering to be undertaken by any but earnest and laborious students. The story of the periods of the Ashikagas, of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and the early Tokugawas, of Christianity and Foreign Intercourse has been taken principally from monographs in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan: from the History of the Church in Japan, the record of the work of the early missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, published in London in the year 1707, of which there are now very few copies in existence: from the diaries of Cocks and Saris, issued by the Hakluyt Society: from Kaempfer's History of Japan: and from Satow's translation of the Genji Yume Monogatari, "Story of the Dream of Genji," which was published in the same manner and at the same period as his translations of the Nihon Guaishi. A full list of all the works which have been consulted is given in the appendix.

While making these works the basic material of the present volume, the writer has also largely availed him-

self of the knowledge and experience which he acquired during thirty-three years' official residence in Japan, dating from a time antecedent to the abolition of feudalism, with all its outward picturesqueness and romance, when Old Japan was not yet dead, to one but little prior to the Russian War, when New Japan was already acknowledged as one of the Great Powers of the world. During those years, he visited or resided in every part of the Empire from the Kurile Islands to Southern Formosa—the north-west coast of the Main Island alone excepted—always studying as he did so the national and voluminous series of guides to the celebrated places in each district—and he may venture to say that there is not one historic spot mentioned in the volume on which his feet have not trod, once at least and in some cases many times. He has examined the alleged site of every battle-field; drunk from the spring from which Yamato Dake refreshed himself and climbed the mountain on which he met his death-chill; rested on the "pillar of the Island" in Awaji, and seen the notices that still existed on the gateways of Desima, when he first visited Nagasaki, forbidding under dire penalties intercourse with the imprisoned Dutchmen. He was also throughout all his career a constant student of Japanese literature, and has read, more or less completely, several of the most popular native historical works that have not been translated into English, while he has also studied in the originals both the Kojiki and the Nihon Guaishi, the published translations of which he has freely used in this volume. He has thus imbibed, in some degree, the spirit of the originals in a way that no translation, no matter how scholarly or faithful, would have enabled him to do. His hope is that he may now succeed in furnishing an easy medium of acquiring a knowledge of the events and traditions of Japanese History which, if not exhaustive, will be correct; which

will explain the *motifs* of many of the greatest works of Japanese pictorial and glyptic art, and will add to the pleasure of those, whose good fortune it may be to visit Japan, in the same way that an elementary knowledge of English History adds to the sightseer's enjoyment of his first impressions of Westminster Abbey and the Tower of London, or to the foreigner's appreciation of Great Britain and its people; above all, which will make English readers better acquainted, than their opportunities have hitherto permitted them to be, with the foundations of the national character of a great people.

The Temple,
June 25, 1910.

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THE STORY OF OLD JAPAN

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

THE Empire of Japan—the Land of the Rising Sun—occupies on the east coast of the continent of Asia a position somewhat analogous to that of Great Britain on the west coast of Europe. It consists of about six hundred inhabited islands—the whole number of islands is said to be quite three thousand, but in this total barren rocks are included—and these islands, including Sakhalin in the north and Formosa in the south, both very recent acquisitions, form the arc of a circle opening towards the continent in a long, narrow and continuous chain from 21° 48′ to 50° 56′ North latitude, or, to take approximate parallels in the West, from about the latitude of the Cape Verde Islands to that of the south of England. Their total area is about equal to that of the German Empire, and they are inhabited by a population of fifty-two million people. Both in the extreme north and in the south—excluding the two recent acquisitions—the islands closely approach the continent. The most northern of the Kurile Islands (called by the Japanese Chishima, or the Myriad Isles) is but a little way separated from the peninsula of Kamchatka and the Island of Kiushiu, the most southern of the principal islands, by a not much greater distance from Korea.

The four principal islands, in order of size, are known as Hondo or Honshiu (Main land or Main country), Hokkaido (North Sea District—formerly called and still marked on English maps Yezo), Kiushiu (Nine Provinces) and Shikoku (Four Provinces). The main island runs from north to south for a distance of about 590 miles, and then, bending towards the west, from east to west for about 540 miles, its total length being, therefore, 1,130 miles. For a great part of its length its width is not more than 100 miles, and, at its greatest, it nowhere exceeds 200 miles. Its area is over 86,000 square miles. North of the main island is Hokkaido (Yezo), 350 miles in length by 280 in width, with a total area somewhat less than that of Ireland. South of the western extremity of the main island—separated from it by the narrow Straits of Shimonoseki—is Kiushiu, so called from the fact that until the redistribution of territorial districts under the present Emperor it was divided into nine provinces, 200 miles in length and varying from 60 to 90 miles in width, with an area of nearly 14,000 square miles. The last of the principal islands is Shikoku—called for the same reason as Kiushiu, koku and shiu being synonymous terms, both of which are derived from the Chinese and both alike signify province—which lies between the north-east of Kiushiu and the south-east extremity of the main island. Its area is almost exactly half that of Kiushiu, and it is about 170 miles in length by about 95 miles in breadth at its widest point. Excluding Sakhalin and Formosa, which need not be taken into consideration for the purposes of the present work, there are five other fairly large islands, Sado, Oki and Iki on the west coast, Tsushima in the Straits of Korea, midway between Kiushiu and Korea, and Awaji, between Shikoku and the main island. All these islands, exclusive of Hokkaido, which, down to a modern period in Japanese

history, was uncolonized, almost a terra incognita,[1] constituted the eight great islands of Japan which are frequently mentioned in Japanese history.

All the islands are mountainous in the extreme, scarcely less so than Switzerland. Except in the east and north of Honshiu, there are no great plains. The mountains are not so high as those of Switzerland, none are covered with eternal snow, but they are everywhere rising steeply from the seashore and sharply alternating with deep valleys, both mountains and valleys being thickly wooded with evergreen trees, whose varied tints in spring and autumn convey indescribable charms of softness and beauty to all the land. No country in the world has a greater wealth of foliage, none more beautiful flowering trees, in none are the hillsides decked with more brilliant wild flowers or flowering shrubs that spring spontaneously from the turf, and all combine to make the landscapes, varied as they are by glimpses of islet-studded seas of azure blue, scenes of romantic beauty that are at once the joy and despair of the artist. The terror of nature is only less well known than its loveliness. Among the mountains many are volcanoes, many of which are still in the full career of their active lives. Earthquakes are frequent, and often terribly destructive both to life and property. Tidal waves have created devastation on the coasts at what, in the lifetime of a nation, are not very distant intervals, and the seas around the southern islands are among the roughest in the world, and are swept by storms of which those who only know the Western seas can form but a faint conception; while in the north they are liable to fogs of a density that would appal a Newfoundland fisherman.

The original inhabitants of these lovely islands, the

[1] It will be only once even incidentally mentioned in our story and that will be in connection with the Jesuits who established a mission there.

people who inhabited them before the dawn of history are now represented only by a few thousand souls scattered through the northern island, who constitute the sole surviving remnants of a people that once spread itself over the whole of the Japanese archipelago. The Ainu, as they are called, probably came from the north of Asia by way of Kamchatka and the Kurile Islands, and gradually made their way southwards. Traces are also found of another race, which has wholly disappeared, that lived even before the Ainu, but continued to exist during their occupation, to whom the name of Cave Dwellers was given by the early Japanese historians, whose dwellings were either natural caves or pits hollowed in the earth by themselves. The Ainu are still a race of savages, ignorant, dirty in their habits, drunken, without a written language, without any system of religion beyond the worship of nature; without even a primitive art, mere hunters and fishers, using in their hunting and fishing the same rude implements that their ancestors used two thousand years ago. They possess the savage qualities of bravery, honesty and faithfulness combined with the abject submission and deprecating timidity which are characteristic of a conquered people who have for ages been in the grip of tyrannical task-masters. Physically they are strong, though of low stature, and well made; and the men are, perhaps, of all human animals on the face of the earth those whose bodies are the most covered with hair. Not only have they, without exception, long, bushy beards, growing down below the chest, but all their bodies and limbs are covered with a coating of hair that is neither thin nor scattered, which vividly contrasts with the smooth and clean faces of the modern Japanese. This physical quality has led the latter to associate their name with inu—a dog—though its real meaning in their own language is "men."

Two great invasions of the islands of Japan occurred while they were still in the occupation of the Ainu, and it is from the colonists who settled in Japan after these invasions that the present race of Japanese is descended. Geographical conditions combine with history, or rather mythology, to invest with more than mere plausibility the commonly accepted beliefs in the actual occurrences of these migrations. It will be seen from the subsequent chapters in this book that the earliest so-called historical records relate to two widely separated parts of the Empire—to the province of Izumo on the south-west coast of the main island directly facing Korea, and to the province of Hiuga on the east coast of Kiushiu. It was in these provinces that the first invading armies of colonists landed. Izumo is not the nearest point to Korea, but it is still near, while the shores of Hiuga are washed by the Kuro Siwo (Black Brine)—the Gulf Stream of the Pacific—which flows in a steady current, acquiring greater rapidity as it passes the south of Japan, from the equator, past Formosa and the Liukiu Islands, until it strikes the south of Kiushiu. Thence it passes along the whole eastern coast of Japan as far as a latitude somewhat south of the Bay of Sendai, where it branches off into the Pacific towards the continent of America. The first immigrants landed in Izumo, having come by way of Korea from the central plateau of Siberia. The second, who arrived long after the first, came from a more southern part of the continent by way of Formosa, whence, with the help of the Kuro Siwo, they could easily reach Japan. Some authorities have endeavoured to show that these immigrants were of Malay origin, and have found marked similarities in both the physical and mental characteristics of the modern Malays and Japanese to support their theories. While, however, they undoubtedly acquired a strong Malay element in their southern wanderings, the fact that when the two

colonies at last met their languages and customs were so similar that no difficulty was experienced in the amalgamation of the two shows that the origin of the preponderating elements of the second must be found in the same race as that of the first. They easily united into one people, and, as among colonists of all ages, women have always been in a great minority to men, as it is only the chiefs of the expedition that can or are permitted to bring their wives with them, the lower ranks of the colonists no doubt sought wives among and largely intermarried with the Ainu, however much they may have despised the latter as savage barbarians.

From these immigrants the modern Japanese are descended, and though all have been fused into one homogeneous whole, they present to this day well-marked physical characteristics which recall the different sources from which they have sprung. The higher classes, who are of the pure blood of the original immigrants, who by the interdiction, under the iron restrictions of a rigid feudalism, of intermarriage with their countrymen of lower degree have preserved that blood pure and unmixed, are characterized by taller stature and complexions that sometimes rival European fairness, by more slender waists, longer legs and smaller hands and feet than are found among their inferiors; by oval faces, straight or aquiline noses, oblique eyes set in deep sockets, with long eyelids and high and narrow foreheads; by small mouths with delicate lips; all combining to present us with the intellectual, refined and aristocratic types that are invariably represented in Japanese paintings. All these characteristics are less pronounced in the men of modern days than in the women. The lower classes, especially the agricultural and labouring, who are of mixed descent, in some instances even of unmixed Ainu descent, are marked by squat figures, with legs short in proporti

to the stature, by round, flat faces in which the eyes are set almost on a level with the face, with noses broad at the bases and upturning so as to expose the nostrils and large, coarse mouths and heavy lips. All classes without distinction have the yellow skin of the Mongolians, straight and coarse black hair, without a vestige of curl, and prominent cheek-bones.

Whatever their physical differences are, all Japanese have the same moral qualities, qualities which have marked them throughout the whole period of their authentic history, which have only been modified in the present day by their contact with Western civilization to a degree that is almost imperceptible. Punctilious courtesy, which never fails in tact or politeness; courage that knows no more fear of physical pain or death than did that of the ancient Greeks and Romans; the strictest personal cleanliness, are all qualities which impress even the dullest who come in contact with them. They are impetuous in spirit. They have great powers of endurance, whether of heat or cold or long, protracted physical effort. They are unflaggingly industrious, but their highest essays, mental and physical, are often followed by long periods of mental and physical apathy. Truth, charity, sobriety, and chastity in the male, are not among their virtues. Of cruelty they are scarcely conscious. To children and household pets they are infinitely tender. To domestic animals used for the purposes of food or draught they are equally, though unconsciously, brutal. No people in the world are such lovers of nature in its softer aspects. Flowers, patriarchal trees of majestic grandeur, smiling land or seascapes, the autumn moon reflected on a cloudless night in the placid waters of a lake nestling amid pine-clad hills; trees whose branches are bending beneath a burthen of snow; flocks of wild geese alighting on a desolate shore; all these are not only the subjects of

poets' songs, but the excuse in their own particular seasons for pleasure parties and picnics of all classes, and are, even to the lowest labouring classes, as much a source of enjoyment as the final tie of the football season is to the Lancashire or Yorkshire operative. Japanese find their chief source of pleasure in the United Kingdom in the luxurious beauty of Killarney, the Clieveden reaches of the Thames, a snow scene in Richmond Park, a homeward flight of noisy rooks, hawthorn hedges or may trees, or laburnums[1] in the full bloom of the early summer. All these appeal strongly to their senses of æsthetic beauty. What we call grand or impressive scenery exercises no influence on them. They go to see the rugged hills of Scotland and its gloomy lakes because they are told to do so, but they no more affect their sense of beauty than does the Tay bridge. The towering cliffs of Western Ireland, beaten by the huge Atlantic rollers, might be a subject of awe, but not of joy or pleasure. The masses of bedded flowers in the London parks seem to them only vulgar and garish, utterly wanting in a the most striking attributes of real beauty.

The art of writing was not introduced into Japan until the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. Prior to that time, oral tradition was the sole medium of preserving history and legends, and yet the Japanese claim that their authentic national history begins in the year 660 B.C., and they place the same degree of implicit faith, not only in their early history, but in the story of creation, thousands of years prior to this date, in all the supernatural events that followed the creation and the superhuman personages who took part in the

[1] The present writer once served at Hakodate. His predecessor, who was an enthusiastic gardener, imported and planted, in the Consulate grounds, a large number of laburnums, which, like all English plants and trees in that northern climate, throve and flourished. When they were in full bloom many hundreds of Japanese of all classes from all round used daily to come and admire them.

that we do in our own biblical narrative. Early eighth century of the Christian era, two historical were completed after more than thirty years' ration. The art of writing had then been known for nearly three hundred years, and written history and legends were already in existence. The written court records had been regularly kept during that period. No use was made of the written materials that were available in the preparation of the "Kojiki" ("Records of Ancient Matters"), the first of the two historical works, the contents of which were transcribed from the dictation of one person, whose knowledge and powers of memory were such that they enabled him to carry in his own mind the whole of the long and, in many parts, minutely detailed narrative. The "Nihongi" ("Chronicles of Japan"), the second of these works, completed eight years after the first, was compiled from all the written works that were available at the time, though the ultimate source of its contents as far as they relate to the centuries prior to the introduction of writing was also only oral tradition. The "Nihongi" is of similar scope, but, as might be expected, much fuller than the "Kojiki," descending in many places into details that may justly be criticized as meticulous when mentioned in an historical work of national dignity, and assigning precise dates not only to great events, but to some of the smallest that can occur in human daily life. It is scarcely necessary to say that no credence whatever can be given to these dates. They have been proved by research in the contemporaneous records of China, whose earlier civilization and authentic literature invests its history with a degree of reliability to which that of Japan can lay no rational claim, to be utterly wrong where they relate to international incidents which occurred after the art of writing had become known to the Japanese. Much less faith can, therefore, be given

to the dates of events, the recollection of which was preserved through centuries in the memories of those who heard them from the lips of their fathers and told them to their sons. The events themselves, once the period of pure mythology is passed, though often disfigured by the wildest romance and fable, may be assumed, without any excessive exercise of credulity, to have had some original foundation of reality not less positive than that which attaches to the stories of the Trojan War or the founding of Rome. The "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" are the Bibles of Japan. In them is described the foundation upon which the national religion has been built, and their contents are accepted by the Japanese of all degrees of rank and intelligence with implicit and unquestioning faith; with a faith that modern scepticism has not been able to shake; that is still the basis of their loyalty, patriotism and pride; with the same faith as that with which the majority of Christians cling to the Bible narratives of the Creation and the Deluge. The "Nihongi" carries its narrative to a period two hundred years later than does the "Kojiki." In summarizing the contents of both, it will be convenient to divide them into three parts: the purely mythological treating of the creation, the legends of the gods, and the divine descent of the first Emperor; the dark ages, the primitive period of history extending from the foundation of the Empire to the introduction of the first elements of Chinese civilization, the memory of which was originally preserved by oral tradition, which is therefore rather legend than history; and ancient history, that of the period from the introduction of Chinese civilization to the founding of the capital at Nara, which, though not wholly wanting in fabulous incidents, may, in the main, be taken as authentic.

CHAPTER II

MYTHOLOGY

"Of old Heaven and Earth were not separated. They formed a chaotic mass, the purer and transparent part of which rose up and formed Heaven, while the heavier and opaque settled downwards and became the Earth. The finer element easily became united, but the consolidation of the heavier was slow and difficult. Heaven was therefore formed first and the Earth afterwards. Between Heaven and Earth a thing sprang up like a reed shoot which became transformed into a God."[1] Four other Gods followed, all spontaneously created. These five Gods are called the "Heavenly Deities," and all died. They were succeeded by seven generations of Gods who were called the "Seven Divine Generations." The first two generations were like the "Heavenly Deities," solitary males; the last five each consisted of a pair of brothers and sisters, so that the five generations included ten deities. The last pair were Izanagi and Izanami. They were ordered by the other Deities to make, consolidate and give birth to the floating land." So they stood on the floating bridge of Heaven (Ama no Uki Bashi), and, thrusting down the jewel spear of Heaven which had been given to them by the Deities, they found the Ocean. As they drew back the spear "the brine which dripped down from its end was coagulated up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro," a name which, to the present day, is given

[1] These are the opening words of the "Nihongi."

to a hill that stands on the Island of Awaji, rising from the plains as an island from the sea. Either Awaji itself or some of the islets on its coast is the Onogoro Island that was the first part of Japan, and therefore of the whole Earth, to be created by the Gods. Having created the Island, the two Deities descended and dwelt in it.

"Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife. So they made Onogorojima the pillar of the centre of the land. Now the male Deity turning to the left and the female to the right, they went round the pillar of the land separately. When they met together on one side, the female Deity spoke first and said: 'How delightful! I have met with a lovely youth.' The male Deity was displeased, and said: 'I am a man, and by right should have spoken first. How is it that, on the contrary, thou, a woman, should have been the first to speak? This was unlucky. Let us go round again.' Upon this the two Deities went back and, having met anew, this time the male Deity spoke first and said: 'How delightful! I have met a lovely maiden.'"

The Deities then became husband and wife, having learned what love is from two wagtails who flew to the spot where they were. The place where they first descended is still shown in Awaji, and near it is a stone still called the "Wagtail Stone," on which the wagtails are said to have lighted. In memory of the incident, a pair of wagtails still forms part of the table decoration of every marriage feast.

From the marriage of the two Deities sprang the other principal islands of Japan. Excluding Yezo, which was geographically unknown when the Chronicles were compiled, they were eight in number. Having produced the Islands, they said, "Why should we not produce some one who shall be lord of the Universe?" So they produced the Sun Goddess and the Moon God, both so radiantly beautiful that they were straightway sent up to Heaven, the Sun Goddess to "rule the plain

of High Heaven," and the Moon God to be her consort and to rule the Dominion of Night. They next produced Hiru Ko, or the leech child, and Susa-no-O, the God of Storms. The former could not stand upright even at the age of three years, "so he was placed in the rock-camphor wood boat and abandoned to the winds." Susa-no-O was given the charge of ruling the Sea plain. He had a fierce temper and a cruel disposition, and, in addition, was given to weeping and wailing.

"The fashion of his weeping was such as to wither the green mountains and to dry up all rivers and seas. Many people of the land came to an untimely end and every portent of woe arose. So his parents expelled him with a divine expulsion to the Nether Land."

The last of many other Deities produced by them—the total number of all was thirty-five—was the God of Fire, in giving birth to whom the Goddess was so burnt that she "divinely retired" (died). Izanagi bewailed her loss, saying, "Oh, that I should have given my beloved sister in exchange for a single child." Then wishing to meet her once more, he followed her to the Land of Night, and, when she came forth to the gate to meet him, he prayed her to return. She told him not to look upon her until she had consulted the Deity of Hades. Orpheus-like, in his impatience, he violated her injunction, and, breaking a tooth from his comb, he made a torch of it so that he might see her. Putrefaction had already seized her, and, horrified at the sight, he fled back from the foul place.

Izanami was angry, and said, "Why didst thou not observe that which I charged thee? Now I am put to shame." So she sent the "eight ugly females of the Land of Night" to pursue him and slay him.

"As he fled, he took his black head-dress and flung it down. It became changed into grapes, which the ugly

females seeing, took and ate. When they had finished eating they again pursued him. Then he flung down his many-toothed comb, which forthwith became changed into bamboo shoots. The ugly females pulled them up and ate them, and, when they had done eating them, they again gave chase. Afterwards Izanami came to herself and pursued him. By this time Izanagi had reached the even pass of Yomi (the land of darkness)."

Then he took a rock large enough to require a thousand men to move it, and with it he blocked up the pass, and, having thus barred further pursuit, he pronounced the formula of divorce. So Izanami became one of the great Deities of Hades, while Izanagi, his task of begetting both the Islands of Japan and the Gods to rule over them being accomplished, ascended to Heaven and dwelt in the smaller palace of the Sun.

Of the first three children born to Izanagi, only the Sun Goddess and Susa-no-O continue to appear in the subsequent legends. The Moon God is no more heard of—a curious fact, seeing that there is no object in nature that is more frequently glorified by poets, or that is looked upon with greater admiration by even the dullest and most ignorant country clown. The Sun, the ancestress of the Japanese nation, the divine Goddess, is rarely appealed to by poets, the stars never, while the moon is constantly called upon to rejoice in the happiness of lovers or to sympathize with the sorrows of the unfortunate.

After his expulsion, Susa-no-O appealed for permission to go for a short time to the Plain of the High Heaven to meet once more his elder sister before parting with her for ever. The permission was given, but his visit was anything but a welcome one to the Sun Goddess. She knew of his wickedness and violence; she was startled and changed countenance when she heard of his coming. Her fears were justified, and her

other's conduct while in Heaven was more than worthy of his reputation. In the spring, when the rice seeds were sown, he broke down the fences of her fields; and in the autumn, when the grain was ripe, he let loose the piebald colts of Heaven to trample it. He defiled the new palace in which she was about to celebrate the harvest festival; breaking a hole in the roof of the hall in which she was seeing to the weaving of the august garments of the Deities, he flung into it a "heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying." Some of the women who were weaving died of fright, and the Goddess herself, starting with alarm, was injured with a shuttle. Terrified and indignant, she took refuge and secluded herself in the Rock Cave of Heaven. Eternal night prevailed both in Heaven and on Earth, and everywhere there were portents of woe. The other Deities took counsel together, and, on the advice of the God "Thought-Combiner," they made an eight-hand mirror, a rosary of five hundred jewels, together with blue and white offerings of cloth, and hung them on a sakaki tree of five hundred branches, which they planted before the Cave door. Then Ama no Uzume, the "Terrible Goddess of Heaven," performed music and a dance before the door, while a laudatory liturgy was recited by another God, Ama tsu Koyane, the God of the small roof in Heaven, and the Sun Goddess, hearing both the sound of the dance and of the merriment of the onlooking Deities who were laughing at it, and the beautiful language of the liturgy, wondered why there should be such happiness in Heaven while she was shut in the Cave, and from within the Cave she asked the reason of it. Uzume answered and said that they rejoiced because they had got a Deity more beautiful than herself. So she opened the door slightly and peeped forth. Then the mirror was shown to her, upon which

she gazed with astonishment at her own beautiful refle tion, and, as she did so, she stepped out of the Cav whereupon one of the Gods, who was hiding near, too her by the hand and led her out, and another tied straw rope across the entrance and said to her, "Thou must not go back further than this." Her radiance once more filled the Universe, and all the Gods were glad.

Susa-no-O was for his misdeeds finally banished from Heaven and descended to Earth at Izumo. There h rescued a maiden named Mota Hime from a serpen with eight heads and eight tails, who had alread devoured her seven sisters, and now threatened her wit the same fate.

"The serpent had eight heads and eight tails. Its eye were red like the winter cherry and, as it crawled, extended over eight hills and eight valleys. Eight tubs c liquor were brewed and set ready for it, and when it came each head drank from one tub until it became drunk and fe asleep. Then the God chopped it into little pieces, but, a he cut the tail, the edge of his sword was notched. H therefore split open the tail and examined it, and found th there was a sword within it. He said: 'This is a divi sword. How can I presume to appropriate it to myself So he gave it to the Gods of Heaven."

This is the two-handled sword, first called the "clou assembling sword of Heaven," and afterwards "th grass mower." It is made of steel, double edged straight in shape, a little over two feet long, and en graved on both sides with figures of the stars. Thi sword, with the mirror by which the Sun Goddess wa enticed from her Cave, and the rosary of jewels—thre crescent-shaped agates, one red, one white and one blu —which was hung on the sakaki tree before the door c the Cave, constitute the Imperial Regalia of Japan. Th sword is still preserved at the temple of Atsuta, a fe miles from the great city of Nagoya on the Tokaido

mirror at the shrines of Ise; and copies of the ord and mirror and the original rosary in the Imperial ace at Tokio. They symbolize courage, knowledge l mercy, the necessary attributes of a great sovereign, whose divine rights the Regalia are the outward nifestation.

The rescued maiden became Susa-no-O's wife, but e was not alone in that position, and it was from other wife that, in the eighth generation, a God led Onamuji descended. The latter had eighty thers, all of whom wished to marry the Princess aba. So they went together to Inaba, taking with m Onamuji as their attendant, and forcing him to ry the bag. On their way they came across a naked re which was lying on the ground weeping, and they ld it to bathe in the sea and then dry itself in the ind. But, when the hare had done so, the skin of its ody cracked as the sea water dried on it, so that its ain was worse and it wept more than ever. Then namuji came after his brothers had all passed, and sked, "Why art thou weeping?" And the hare plied—

"I was in the Island of Oki, and wished to cross over to is land, but had no means of crossing over. For this ason I deceived the crocodiles of the sea, saying: 'Let ou and me compete, and compute the numbers of our espective) tribes. So do you go and fetch every member f your tribe, and make them all lie in a row across from is island to Cape Keta. Then I will tread on them and ount them as I run across. Hereby we shall know whether or my tribe is the larger.' Upon my speaking thus, they vere deceived and lay down in a row, and I trod on them nd counted them as I came across, and was just about to et on land when I said: 'You have been deceived by me.' nd as soon as I had finished speaking, the crocodile who y the last of all seized me and stripped off all my clothing. s I was weeping and lamenting for this reason, the eighty Deities who went by before (thee) commanded and exhorted

me, saying: 'Bathe in the salt water, and lie down expo to the sun and wind.' So, on my doing as they instructed me, my whole body was hurt."

Onamuji told the hare to bathe in the fresh water the river, and to gather and spread out the pollen the sedges and roll about on it. When it had done its body became whole again, and, in gratitude, it t Onamuji that he and not his brothers should wed Princess. The hare was the White Hare of Ina and its influence caused the Princess to prefer him his brethren. They were enraged, and made seve attempts to slay him. They told him that there a red boar upon the mountain which he was to ca when they drove it down. But they heated red-ho great rock in the form of a boar and rolled it down, a when Onamuji, who was waiting at the base, seized he was burnt and died. But he was brought back life by the intervention of the Gods. Then his brethre enticed him to the mountains, and, having cleft an placed a wedge in a large tree, they made him stan in the cleft, and then took away the wedge, so that h was tortured to death. Again the Gods came to h rescue and restored him. Other adventures followe but in the end he triumphed over all his brethren an slew them, and then established himself as Okuninush or Master of the Great Land, fixing his home at Izum He married not only the Princess Inaba, but man others, his amorous adventures being as numerous and a varied as those of Jupiter. Once, when he was on the se coast, a human voice was heard from the sea. Nothin could be seen at first; but, after a while, a dwarf, dresse in the feathers of a wren, came floating in upon th tide. Onamuji took him up and held him in the palm of his hand. Wondering at his appearance, he sent messenger to report the matter to the Gods of Heaven Now when Taka-no-musubi, one of the Heavenl

ties, heard this, he said, "The children whom I have duced number in all one thousand and five hundred. nong them one was very wicked, and would not yield mpliance to my instructions. He slipped through ny fingers and fell. This must be that child, let him e loved and nurtured." The dwarf was the God, Skuna Bikona, a God who still occupies a prominent place in he Shinto pantheon, and who is specially worshipped n the temple of Kanda in Tokio. He became like a rother to Onamuji, and the two were associated in developing the land, in completing the work that was egun by the first two Deities who had descended to the arth, but which had to be left unfinished by them wing to Izanami's untimely death.

Onamuji was lord of the Great Land, but in it there were evil Deities who "buzzed like flies," and he was unable to maintain tranquillity, and the land was painfully uproarious. So it was decided in the Council of the Gods that met in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven that his sovereignty should be taken from him, and, at the advice of the God, Thought-Combiner, whose sagacity had been previously proved, when the Sun Goddess was enticed from her Cave, given to Niniji, the grandson of the Sun Goddess. Ambassadors were sent from Heaven to Earth to inform Onamuji of this decision. Two were unsuccessful. The first, the most heroic God of Heaven, at once fell beneath the influence of Onamuji, and during three years brought back no report. The second was the "Heavenly Young Prince," who, before starting, received the gifts of a heavenly deer-bow and feathered arrows; but he proved a worse messenger than the first. The first was only negligent; the second became an active traitor. He married the daughter of Niniji, and plotted to obtain the land for himself. As eight years passed without bringing any report from him, a pheasant was sent to spy upon him.

It perched on an acacia tree in front of his door, and cry was, "Why hast thou for eight years not mad report on thy mission?" The Heavenly Young Prin being told that a bird of evil cry was on the tree, kill it with one of the feathered arrows, and the arro having passed through the pheasant's breast, flew straight to Heaven, where it arrived stained with blood and was at once recognized. It was flung down to Earth again, and, as it fell, it hit and killed the young Prince, and the sound of his wife's weeping that was wafted by the winds to Heaven told the Gods that he was dead. Then two valiant Gods were sent as a fina embassy: Take-mika-dzuchi (the Brave Thunder) an Futsu Nushi (the Snapping Master), both the sons o Izanagi, born from the blood that dripped from his sword when he slew the Fire God. Both the Gods descended to Izumo, and there, sticking their swords with the hilt downward in the earth, they sat cross-legged on the points and demanded from Onamuji the surrender of his sovereignty. He yielded after consultation with his sons. The eldest was called back from a fishing expedition, and, when told what had happened, at once counselled his father to obey. He then stepped on the side of his boat so as to capsize it, and, with clasped hands, vanished into the sea. The second son was not equally submissive. He met the two Gods in anger, and, bearing on the tips of his fingers a rock that only a thousand men could lift, he challenged them to a trial of strength. He grasped Takedzuchi's hand, but it turned to an icicle, so that he dropped it in pain. On grasping it a second time, it became a sword blade, so that he again dropped it. Then Takedzuchi grasped his in return and crushed it like a young reed. So he fled, and when Takedzuchi pursued and overtook him, to save his life he submitted and joined with his father in his surrender to the com-

nds of the Heavenly Deities. So the two Deities t to death all the rebellious and malignant Deities of land, and having subdued and pacified it, returned Heaven to report that the way was clear for the cent of the Heavenly Grandchild.

The time had now come for the Heavenly Grandchild take charge of his dominion on Earth. Another ssenger was sent to clear the way for him, who re-ted on his return: "There is one God who dwells at eight cross roads of Heaven, the length of whose e is seven hands, the length of whose back is seven homs, from whose mouth a light shines, whose eye-lls are like a mirror and glow like the winter cherry." his was Saruta Hiko, the God of the Cross Ways. Uzume, who danced before the Sun Goddess when in her Cave, the power of whose looks was superior to that of the other Gods, who, though but a delicate woman, was still "a Deity who conquered in facing other Gods," was sent to question this God, and, confronting him with her breasts bared, she demanded why he dared to obstruct the path of the child of the Sun Goddess. He answered that he was there only to wait upon and guide the Heavenly Grandchild to his home on earth. So the Heavenly Grandchild, "leaving the Rock seat of Heaven, and pushing asunder the eight-fold spreading clouds and dividing a road with a mighty road dividing," descended by the floating bridge of Heaven, and, guided by Saruta Hiko, arrived not in Izumo where Onamuji had lived, and where it might naturally be expected he would have made his first landing on earth, but at Mount Takachiho, a peak in the Kirishima range of mountains on the borders of Hiuga, a province of the Southern Island of Kiushiu. A large retinue of attendant Gods accompanied him, of whom only one—Amatsu-Koyane—need be mentioned who is claimed as the divine ancestor of the Fujiwara, a family which has

played a great part in Japanese history, whose memb are now the highest nobility in the Empire. Until t time Heaven and Earth were but a little distance ap and between the two there had been frequent comm cation, but now the floating bridge ceased to exist, the two became widely separated, and were parted ever. The Sun Goddess, when taking leave of Grandchild, gave him the Heavenly Mirror, sayi "My child, when thou lookest upon this mirror, l be as if thou wert looking on me. Let it be with the thy couch and in thy hall, and let it be to thee a h mirror." She also said, "This land is the region which my descendants shall be for ever the lords. and may prosperity attend thy dynasty, and may it, l Heaven and Earth, endure for ever." Ama-tsu-Koyan was instructed by her to attend upon the mirror.

Having descended on Takachiho, Niniji built a palace, and afterwards, when walking by the seashore, he saw a beautiful maiden, "the princess who causes the flowers and the trees to blossom." She was the daughter of the God, Great Mountain Possessor, one of the many children of the first creators of the Earth, and Niniji proposed to marry her. She had an elder sister, the Princess Rock Long, and the father offered both sisters as wives to the suitor of the youngest. Th elder sister was, however, as ugly as the younger wa beautiful, and Niniji would have naught to say to her So he returned her to her father, who, together with th rejected daughter, was covered with shame, and, in hi anger, he pronounced the curse which ever afterwards caused the life of man to be so short.

"My reason for respectfully presenting both my daughters was, that by sending Princess Rock Long, the children o the Heavenly Grandchild might, though the snow fall and the wind blow, live eternally unmovable like the enduring rocks; and, again, by sending the Princess who causes the

bloom, they might live flourishingly like unto the
of the blossoms of the trees. Now the children
frail as the flowers of the trees."

children were born of the marriage. Niniji
their paternity on what seems very slender
but his suspicions were set at rest when both
nd children came safely through an ordeal of
emerged vigorous and uninjured. The last
he three was Prince Hodemi, Prince Fire sub-
n when the flames of the ordeal were beginning
low. He married the Sea God's daughter,
Rich Jewel. Their son married the latter's
sister, his aunt, and had four sons, the
of whom was Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor
fourth in the direct line of descent from the
of the Sun Goddess who descended from
o Earth.

CHAPTER III

THE DARK AGES

THE birth of Jimmu closes the period of pur
ary fable, embodying only supernatural my
opens a new period which, though it continu
tinged for more than a thousand years with sup
elements, may still rest on a foundation of actua
the real traditions of which were distorted by
duction of the miraculous by which they were
savage and superstitious people verbally pas
father to son prior to the acquisition of the art o
Jimmu lived at the base of the Kirishima M
until he was forty-five years of age. Only on
brothers then survived. One had gone into th
Plain," and another, "treading on the crest of the
had crossed the 'Eternal Land.'" The eldest rem
with Jimmu. Both were dissatisfied with the narrow
and infertility of their domain, while, beyond it, wa
land of promise, a land fair to look upon, of abund
fertility, but habited by tribal savages, every tribe
whom had its own independent chief, between wh
there was constant warfare, whose customs were loa
some and cruel." It was the duty of the brothers to co
plete the task of civilizing and tranquillizing the wh
land which had been begun by their Heavenly Ancesto
but transmitted to them in an unfinished state. Th
started on an expedition to the northern coast of Kiushi
where they embarked, and, thence, sailing along t
north and east coasts of that island, entered the Inla

reached the mouth of the Yodo River,
eat commercial city of Osaka now stands.
gs had extended over long years. Their
ot uninterrupted, and they were often in
m which they were only rescued by the
ition of the Sun Goddess. The elder
om a wound received in one battle in
ere defeated and forced into a general
had been advancing against the Sun, and,
showing a want of respect to the Sun
e enemy did not pursue them when they
West in their retreat, and they were able
heir ships and their stores and to renew
from another quarter. Passing by the
e between Awaji and Shikoku, the violent
hich are a dread to mariners at the present
ere in dire difficulties when a man met
ver the sea on a tortoise's back. He con-
as their pilot, and they stretched a pole to
w him into Jimmu's own ship, and he
n safely through the passage. Poisonous
came the whole army after their landing,
d followers all sank helpless on the ground;
overed after the sword of Take-mika-dzuchi
und in a storehouse, its existence in which
een manifested to one of them in a dream in
aw and heard the Sun Goddess and Take-
i conversing. The vapours followed the
of a great bear that emerged from the moun-
hey vanished on the appearance of the sword,
anation is given as to the connection between
on the one side and the bear and the sword
. The sword was that on which Take-mika-
sat in his interview with Onamuji, and it was
s old attitude, the hilt in the earth and the
rds. When they attempted to penetrate into

the interior, they were ignorant of where
the pathless mountains that stood in th
Sun Goddess told Jimmu in a dream that
the "Eight Hand Crow" to guide him.
down from Heaven and guided them saf
Yoshino and the province of Yamato.
dued and pacified the savage deities and
unsubmissive savages," and, having do
his residence at Kashiwabara, about m
Nara and Osaka. His rule was now u
was acknowledged by those who had
followers from the first, by his kith and k
descendants from the Gods or as immigr
continent, from Izumo, and by the tamed
aborigines who had survived the slaug
kinsmen. He made Kashiwabara the c
Empire which he had founded, and then
on the throne. This was the year 660 B.C
long posterior to the founding of Rome
which is assumed by the Japanese believe
in the national records to be the beginning
chronology. From Jimmu, the present
Japan, the conqueror of China and Russ
reign of a nation which has acquired all
elements of Western science and civiliza
produces thinkers and inventors who have s
selves not to be on any lower intellectual pla
most distinguished scientists of Europe,
descent in a direct line extending over 2,50
is through Jimmu that he claims his heavenly
the divinity which is not only the divinity
other kings of the earth, but whose essence i
Gods who rule the world. The title by
known to and spoken of by his subjects is
Lord of Heaven, or Tenshi, the Son of H
rules the world as God incarnate. He is n

ple, but the source to whose inspiration verything they have achieved, whether eace, is due. Throughout all the long rs have never ceased to be the acknowall the authority of the Empire, and not t and most tyrannical usurper has ever crilegious hands on the throne, however have reduced its occupants to political

r Jimmu died in 585 B.C. at the age of e official list of the Sovereigns of Japan, the Government, which is universally thentic by all Japanese, gives the names erors who succeeded him on the throne late of his death and the dawn of the Jimmu had left to them an empire which at part of Japan which lies to the south from where Kioto now is to the province he west coast. South of this line their recognized, though frequently disputed iving aborigines who had remained in s instead of trekking northwards before Japanese, or even by Japanese who icts remote from Yamato, where were the vernment of the Emperors. In what are Five Home Provinces—the five provinces nato) around Kioto—peace had been estabbarian aborigines absorbed or driven out lowers, who in their turn, under the direct es of the Emperors, were their obedient ner willingly or unwillingly. All the main an to the north of the line was still a *a* whose wild and unknown districts, precipitous and thickly wooded mountains rapid rivers, were still peopled by savages refused to recognize the authority of the

Emperors, but were prepared to resist
the last, and to sacrifice their lives in
land that still remained to them against
of the Japanese colonists. The positi
under the early Emperors has been ver
pared by Dr. Griffis to that of the e
New England, and the history of Ja
centuries very closely resembles that
America. The colonists had establish
securely in one small part of the islan
limits they could pursue their avocati
Beyond those limits their kin had extens
in the south and west, where, howev
always obliged to be on guard and w
exposed to outbreaks on the part of th
sessors of the land, who had remainec
subdued, but with rebellion ever in their
north all was unknown. It was to the
nists what the wild and pathless forests o
haunts of savage Indians, were to the
Colonists. Just as the white man grad
Indians further and further westward
Indians steadily diminished in numbers
and spirit, until at last the whole contine
the irresistible domination of the conquerc
handful of the Indians were left in a fe
isolated reservations, survivors of the pe
once spread over the whole continent, cr
graded, all their virtues of courage and e
so it was in Japan. The Ainu, now a sp
and degraded people, who, unlike some
Red Indians of America, have not in one
ual instance acquired even the simplest
modern civilization, though they have im
its vices; of whom only a small remnant
islands of the extreme north, were onc

courageous race of warriors, who fought against their invaders to the last, and who in early years rendered the lot of those invaders one of unbroken disquiet. The Indians of North America were subdued in little over a century. Fully fifteen centuries were destined to elapse before the Japanese could say that they held the undisputed masterdom of the whole of their Empire as far as the extreme north of the main island, before the last remnant of its former inhabitants fled to what was even then still the unexplored and unknown island of Yezo.

Jimmu's successors, prior to the Christian Era, were too fully occupied in governing and maintaining their authority in their hereditary dominions to think of extending them, and all their military strength and energy were fully tested in defending their northern frontier against the incursions of the aborigines, who were not always content to remain merely on the defensive. The first nine of them have left no marks in history. Neither the Kojiki nor the Nihongi tells more of them than their births, marriages, deaths and places of burial, and as the Nihongi professes to furnish exact details, descending even to precise dates, of all that happened even in those remote ages, it may be assumed that where nothing is told in it, there was nothing to tell. In 97 B.C. the Emperor Sūjin ("the Emperor who honours the Gods"), the tenth of the Imperial line, ascended the throne and subsequently reigned for sixty-seven years, dying at the age of 120 years. He has left a reputation as a civil reformer not less distinguished than that of Jimmu as a conqueror.

In the early years of his reign "more than half of the people" died of pestilence, and the survivors broke into rebellion. "Therefore, rising early in the morning and being full of awe until the evening, the Emperor requested punishment of the Gods of Heaven and Earth" for his own shortcomings in his failure to discharge

adequately the duties which he had inherited from his divine ancestors. He was rewarded by a dream in which he was shown the true way of serving the Gods, who had hitherto been worshipped together in the Palace Hall. Separate shrines were built in which the Emperor worshipped them in turn after having bathed and fasted. But further dreams and further observances were still required before his prayers were answered, and it was only when land and houses were allotted as their shrines, when the heavenly were honoured separately from the earthly deities, that the pestilence abated. Throughout his reign Sūjin appears to have united in himself the offices of Emperor and of High Priest, and in both to have merited the gratitude of his people. Never since Jimmu ascended the throne were the Gods so assiduously served, never were their individual idiosyncrasies so carefully or so readily humoured; never were the suggestions of dreams or the promptings that came from divine inspirations so profoundly studied, or when a favourable verdict had been pronounced on them, so faithfully followed. The favour of the Gods was won. The Sovereign governed with wisdom, mercy and courage. Pestilence was stayed. Rebellion was quickly stifled. The country had peace, "the five kinds of grain were produced and the peasantry enjoyed abundance." The education, "which the example of a wise and beneficent Sovereign gives to his people as to the prudent ordering of their own lives," was widespread. Taxes were equitably levied "on the arrow notches of the men and on the finger-tips of the women."—on the products of the chase and of the loom. A census was taken, and as "agriculture was the great foundation of the Empire," a regular supply of water was insured to farmers by extensive irrigation. Shipping is, since the coasting voyage of Jimmu, first mentioned in the Chronicles. Shipbuilding was, on the Emperor's command,

begun in every province, and the people's sufferings from the difficulties of land transport relieved. In every way the Empire advanced in all the results of civilization, and the Sovereign received the title of the "Emperor, the August Founder of the Country."

The succession to the throne was regulated by the will of the reigning Emperor, who during his lifetime nominated the Prince Imperial, and the latter was thenceforward recognized as the Heir-Apparent, and a separate palace was provided for him. Death within the Imperial palace rendered it inauspicious for the occupation of the successor, whose own palace therefore became the Imperial residence on his accession. This is the explanation of the fact that the palace was changed simultaneously with a new accession to the throne, a practice which continued throughout the early centuries of Japanese history, and was only ended when the capital was established at Nara early in the eighth century of the Christian Era. Wherever the Imperial palace was, there was also the capital for the time being. The changes were more apparent than real. All the palaces were within the province of Yamato and could have been little distant from each other, and as their construction was of primitive simplicity changes were an insignificant burthen on the Imperial revenue.

As a rule the succession was from father to son, not necessarily the eldest son nor the son of the Empress. In each reign a Grand Empress is mentioned, the wife of the Sovereign, but each Emperor in addition had many concubines, who were chosen from the same rank in life as the Empress, in some cases were the Empress's own sisters, between whom and the legitimate Empress there was so little distinction that the Emperor is usually said to have "wedded them." One Emperor chose as Grand Empress a lady who had been his father's concubine, another a lady who was his own aunt; and

marriage between the children of the same father but of different mothers was not infrequent. In the succession no distinction was made between the children of the Empress and those of the subordinate ladies. If the son of one of the latter won the Emperor's favour in his lifetime, the title and dignity of Prince Imperial was conferred on him, and his succession to the throne naturally followed, though it was occasionally disputed by an ousted brother.

Sūjin had twelve children, seven of whom were daughters. It was not till the forty-eighth year of his reign, the whole duration of which was sixty-seven years, that he nominated the Prince Imperial. Then he called to him his two best beloved sons, both of them so alike in his affection that he knew not which to choose. So he told them each to dream, and from their dreams he would form an augury. The elder, the son of the Empress, dreamt that he stood on a mountain-top and "turning towards the East he flourished a spear eight times, and eight times dealt blows with a sword": the younger, the son of a concubine, that he stood on the same mountain and "stretched a cord to the four quarters of the compass with which to drive away the sparrows that fed upon the grain." The Emperor interpreted these dreams that, as the elder had turned only to the east, he should rule over only the land in the east, in subordination to the Emperor, but that as the younger had turned to all directions he should succeed to the Imperial throne. As the Emperor ordered, so it was done, and when he died the younger son became the Emperor Suinin. The augury which guided his father's choice proved to be an auspicious one. The new Emperor was of distinguished personality, talented, a lover of truth, energetic and brave. During his reign of forty-one years he continued to give his patronage both to agriculture, as his father had done, and to extend irrigation so that there were

peace and plenty throughout the land, nor did he fall short of his father's pious care in the conduct of religious observances.

The Imperial regalia of Japan—the mirror, sword and jewels conferred by the Sun Goddess on her grandson when he was about to descend to Earth—were, in accordance with the Goddess's instructions, preserved in the Great Hall of the Palace in close proximity to the Emperor's own chamber, in the charge of a virgin daughter of the Emperor, until the reign of Sūjin. Early in his reign, while pestilence and rebellion were still rampant, one of his reforms, made at the height of his religious fervour, was to remove the mirror and the sword for greater security from the palace to a temple specially built for them at Kasanui, a village of Yamato, and to give them into the keeping of one of his daughters. This was in the year 92 B.C., and the same Princess held them in her charge for eighty-seven years. Then a successor was appointed in Yamato Hime—the Princess Yamato, daughter of the Emperor Suinin. She was dissatisfied with their location, and after wandering far and near in search of a better site, she came to Ise, and pleased with it herself, and instructed by the Sun Goddess that "this is a pleasant and secluded land in which I wish to dwell," she built a new shrine and placed the mirror and the sword in it. This was in the year 4 B.C. The mirror remains there to this day, deposited in a shrine which is an exact replica of that first erected more than nineteen hundred years ago by Yamato Hime, preserving all the primitive simplicity of construction without any outward adornment of colour or carving, either in wood or metal, of the architecture of the age in which she lived. On the lapse of every period of twenty years since then, a new building has been erected, in which every detail of the original has been faithfully copied, the old not being

demolished till the new is completed, and the pilgrims who annually flock in hundreds of thousands to the Mecca of Japan now see there the exact replica of the buildings of simple wood and thatch in which their Emperors lived and worshipped before the dawn of the Christian Era.

The Emperor's piety was not only testified by observance of the honour due to the Gods and by regulating the forms of their worship. It manifested itself also in the clemency which he showed to his subjects. Up to his reign it was the custom on the death of a member of the Imperial family to bury alive with him his personal attendants and horses—to gird his grave, as the saying was, with a living hedge. The Emperor's brother, Yamato Hiko, died in the year 2 B.C., and following the old custom, "his attendants were assembled and were all buried alive, upright, in the precinct of the tomb. For several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them." The Emperor was filled with pity, and ordered his officers to devise some substitute for this ancient custom. So when, five years later, the Empress died, a hundred men of the guild of clay workers were called, and they made clay images which were set up in the tomb of the Empress in the place of her living attendants whom she had loved, who otherwise would have been compelled to follow her in death. The Emperor, greatly pleased, conferred handsome rewards on the officer to whom he owed the suggestion, and decreed that clay figures should be used in future, that men were not to be harmed. Human sacrifices therefore ceased to be part of the Imperial funeral rites, but voluntary suicide, in order that a faithful retainer might follow his master in death, was a common practice for many centuries. The Empress Kōtoku, in the year 645, in a series of

sumptuary regulations for the conduct of funerals, following a Chinese precedent, forbade people to sacrifice or mutilate themselves, or even to sacrifice at the graves of their chiefs the dead men's horses. But not even an Imperial edict could entirely abolish the observance of an old custom founded on loyalty, and down to a very modern period in Japanese history there were frequent incidents in which one or more of the feudal retainers of great or distinguished lords committed *hara-kiri* in order that they might accompany their lords in death.

Two other incidents in the Emperor's reign may be told, as both are the subject of many Japanese paintings.

One of the Emperor's wives was the Princess Sawo. Her elder brother plotted to secure the throne for himself, and to that end, presuming on his sister's love for him, he induced her to promise to murder the Emperor. He gave her an "eight times tempered" dagger, and told her, "Gird on this dagger in thy garments, and when the Emperor goes to sleep do thou stab him in the neck, and thus kill him." But the Empress had given the promise without knowing what it meant, and was troubled in heart, not knowing what to do. When the Emperor lay asleep at noonday, his head pillowed on the Empress's lap, the thought came to her that it was the time to do what her brother asked. Thrice she raised the dagger meaning to strike, but her heart failed her, and she could only weep. This is the moment that has been chosen by artists. Her tears falling on the Emperor's face woke him, and he told her how as he slept a dream came to him that a snake had coiled itself around his neck and that a great rain had wet his face. Then she confessed everything. The Emperor said, "This is not thy crime," and forgave her, but he sent an army against her brother. The Empress could not bear to continue in the Palace after she had brought ruin to her brother, so she fled to his castle, which was

besieged by the Emperor's army; there her child was born, and the Emperor, in pity for her whom he had loved for three years, delayed his attack and called upon those within to send out the Empress and her child. But they would not. So the castle was set on fire, and as it burned the Empress came forth carrying the child with her, and gave it to the soldiers of the Emperor, saying—

"The reason why thy handmaiden at first fled into her elder brother's castle was in the hope that her elder brother might be absolved from guilt for the sake of her and her child. But now he has not been absolved, and I know that I am guilty. Shall I have my hands tied behind my back? There is nothing left but for me to strangle myself. But even though I, thy handmaiden, die, I cannot bear to forget the favour shown to me by the Emperor. I pray, therefore, that the Empress's palace, which I had charge of, may be granted to fair mates for thee. In the land of Tamba there are five ladies, all of virtuous minds, the daughters of the prince. Let them be placed in the side courts to complete the number of the consort chambers."

The best and strongest of the soldiers had been instructed by the Emperor's orders to save both mother and child, "whether by the hair or by the hands, or whatever you may best lay hold of, clutch her and drag her out." But she had shaved her hair and covered her head loosely with the shaved-off hair, and she had made the jewel strings round her arms and her clothes rotten, and all came away in the soldiers' hands as they seized her. So she escaped back into the castle and there died with her brother.

The child was dumb, and at the age of thirty, when his beard was eight span long, he had not yet learned to speak. Then one day as he stood by the Emperor a swan flew by, and the Prince spoke and asked "What thing is this?" So the swan was followed all the way to Izumo, where it was caught, and when it was brought

back to the Prince he played with it and at last learned to speak. The eldest of the five sisters mentioned by the Empress before her death succeeded her. Three of her sisters became the Emperor's concubines, but so little attractive were the physical charms of the fifth that she was sent back to her own country. In shame she threw herself from her car and was killed.

Suinin died in 70 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Keikō, born to him of the eldest of the five sisters, who, as has just been stated, became Empress. Keikō was a vigorous and courageous sovereign. He took command of his own armies in the field, and in a prolonged campaign, throughout Kiushiu, conducted in person both the operations against, and negotiations with, rebels in arms against him, and finally succeeded in tranquillizing the whole island. His chief title to fame with posterity rests on his son, one of eighty children, who is still one of the darling heroes of Japan, whose exploits are spoken of with reverential admiration as those of a noble, fearless and loyal knight, the mirror of national chivalry, the favoured soldier of the Gods of Heaven. This son was the youngest of twins born to the Empress, and in childhood was known as the "Prince of the Little Mortar." His stature and strength, while still a youth, far exceeded that of ordinary men, his features were noble and his spirit high.

He soon gave evidence of his fierceness and determination. His eldest twin brother was sent by his father to invite to the Court two maiden sisters, descendants of the Emperor Kaikwa, who were said to be beautiful beyond the common. The son betrayed his trust, and, wedding both the maidens himself, falsely gave their names to others whom he sent to his father in their place. But the father knew of his deception, and while he frequently looked longingly at both the maidens who were sent to him he wedded neither. Then the elder

brother absented himself from the "morning and evening great august repasts." So the younger was told to teach him his duty. Five days elapsed and still the elder came not, and when the father inquired the reason, the younger answered that he had "grasped hold of him and crushed him, and, pulling off his limbs, wrapped them in a matting and flung them away." This is the first recorded incident in the career of the younger, one that commends itself to Japanese admiration as an unflinching performance of filial duty.

In the far away land of Western Kiushiu the Kumaso, the people who were as savage as bears, had again rebelled, and under the leadership of two brothers, unsubmissive and disrespectful men, made unceasing incursions on the frontier. Prince Wousu, though only sixteen years of age, was entrusted with the task of taking and slaying them. The young Prince borrowed female clothing from his aunt, Yamato Hime, the priestess of Ise; then, letting down his hair like a young girl and hiding a sword within his dress, he mingled with the women that were present at a banquet given by the eldest of the brigands. His beauty soon attracted the attention of the host, by whose side he was called to sit, of whose gallant attentions he became the object before all the other women. The evening wore on, the guests dwindled away, and the host, drunk with wine, was more pressing in his gallantries. Then the Prince drew his sword and stabbed him. As he died he asked the Prince his name, and when he heard it, he said, "I have met with many valiant men, but none as yet could match this Prince. Henceforward let him be styled Prince Yamato Dake." Yamato Dake means "The brave man of Yamato," and it was by this name that the Prince was afterwards known throughout his life and is now remembered by posterity. Then the Prince slew all the rest of the band. While returning

from Kiushiu he visited the land of Izumo, where there was another outlaw, to whom "he bound himself in friendship." One day the two went to bathe in the river, the Prince wearing a false sword which he had previously made from wood. Getting out of the river first, he took the outlaw's real sword himself, and the outlaw, following him out of the river, took the false sword of wood. Then the Prince challenged him to a fencing bout, and the outlaw unable to draw the false sword was promptly slain. So the Prince, having slain all the brigands, returned to the Court and to his father, and reported what he had done.

The west and south were now tranquillized, but disorder was rampant in the provinces of the east, where the Yemishi—the savage aborigines—were still unsubdued, and not only defied the authority of the Emperor in their own wild and unknown fastnesses, but kept his frontier in a ferment of continual disquiet. They were also constantly at war among themselves. There was no security either of life or property among them. The time had come at which the might and majesty of the Emperor should be manifested by their subjection, and there was in the Empire no one so fitted for the task as the Prince who had signally proved his mettle and capacity in the west and south. He readily undertook to carry it through, and having received the Imperial commands he started on his expedition into the savage and unknown land, with, however, "lamentations and tears" at the thought that he should never return.

On his way he stopped at Ise, where he sought the prayers of his aunt, Yamato Hime, the virgin Priestess, on his behalf. She lent him the sacred sword—"the cloud gathering"—and also bestowed on him an august bag, saying, "If there should be an emergency open the mouth of the bag." From Ise he made his way to Owari and Suruga, and "subdued and pacified all the

savage deities and unsubmissive people of the mountains and the rivers," and at last he reached the land of Sagami. There the savage chiefs tried to destroy him by treachery. They told him that there were deer in abundance on a certain moor, and when the Prince entered on the moor to hunt, they set the long grass on fire in order that he might be destroyed. The emergency spoken of by his aunt had come, so he opened the bag and, finding a fire-drill in its mouth, he kindled a new fire, and then, mowing the grass around him with his sword he made an empty space on the moor and was saved. So the name of the sword was changed to that of "grass mower" (Kusa-nagi). The treacherous natives were all destroyed.

Then he passed by sea, across the straits that lead from the Pacific Ocean into the Gulf of Tokio, from Sagami to Kadzusa. As he stood on the shores of Sagami before embarking and looked across the straits, he mocked at their name, Hashiri-midzu ("running water"), saying, "This is but a little sea—one might even jump over it." The Sea God was angered when he heard these words and raised a violent storm, so that the ship was in danger of foundering. Then his wife, the Princess Oto Tachibana, who was with him, resolved to propitiate the God by sacrificing her own life and so save that of her lord. So she spread eight rugs of serge, eight of skins, and eight of silk on top of the waves, and seating herself on the uppermost was carried away and drowned. Then the storm was stilled and the ship proceeded in safety. Seven days afterwards her comb floated ashore, and was reverently placed in a shrine. Far away from this shrine, in the little village of Honno, that lies secluded among the mountains of Kadzusa, another temple has been erected to her memory and there she is still worshipped by fishermen, who come from the coast that is miles away to ask for her pro-

tection while they are on the open sea, at the mercy of the great waves of the Pacific that break on the eastern shores. Still more is her memory preserved in the name, beloved of poets, of the eastern provinces of Japan. When Yamato Dake, in his later wanderings, reached the summit of the Usui Pass, a lofty pass on the great central high road of Japan, and gazed from it on the wide extent of the eastern plains that was before his view he sighed, and said, "Adzuma wa ya" ("alas, my wife!"). So the eastern provinces are called Adzuma to this day.

After subduing all the eastern provinces, he made his way into the province of Shinano, "the land of high mountains and profound valleys." Here he lost his way, but was miraculously guided by a white dog to safety in the less wild province of Mino.

Travellers on the Tokaido Railway from Tokio to Kioto, after they pass Gifu, famous for its cormorant-fishing, as they approach Lake Biwa, see on their right hand Mount Ibuki, one of the seven high mountains of Japan, which rises precipitously from the plains on the borders of the provinces of Omi and Mino. It is celebrated for the Mogusa,[1] the plant from which the moxa is made, which grows on it in great abundance. Its appearance is bare and forbidding, offering the smallest attraction to the most ardent climber. Here Yamato Dake heard there was a savage deity. Leaving his sword behind him he ascended the mountain, determined to take the deity by the strength of his arms alone. On the way he met with a white boar, as large as an ox, and thinking this to be only a messenger from the deity he left it unharmed and con-

[1] Mogusa—the mugwort—means burning grass. It is universally used as a cautery both in China and Japan, and its application to the body is regarded in the Chinese system of medicine as a sovereign specific for almost every illness.

tinued his climb. It was not a messenger, but the deity himself. In anger at the invasion of his home, he brought clouds on the mountain and caused ice-rain to fall. The Prince lost his way, and in his weariness reeled like a drunken man. But his courage carried him on, not knowing in the mist where he was, till at last, dazed and exhausted, he found himself once more at the mountain's foot. There he sat down beside a spring of clear water, and when he had drunk from it his senses came back to him and he was himself again. Both the spring and the stone on which he sat are still to be seen at the village of Samegai, and the spring is still called the I-zame-shimidzu ("the spring of rest and wakening").

His life was now near its end. The chill of the mountain had done its work, and whereas "his heart had before been so light that he always felt like flying through the sky," now he could scarcely drag his wearied legs along. He reached Owari, where the wife lived who had replaced Tachibana, but all his thought was to make his way to his home in Yamato, and so he did not stay with her. So weary was he that when climbing a short pass on the road near Oiwake, the junction of the roads that lead to Ise and Kioto, he had to use his sword as a staff to help him, whence the pass is to this day called Tsuye-dsuki-saka ("staff-lean pass"). At last he came to the Moor of Nobo in Ise, and knowing that the end had come, he sent a messenger to the Emperor to tell of what he had done and to say that his only grief in dying was that he could not see his father's face once more. Then he died, and was buried on the moor. But his body took the form of a white heron and flew to his home in Yamato, and thence to Heaven, so that nothing was buried of him but his clothes and cap.

Every incident that has now been told of his life is a favourite subject of Japanese artists, perhaps most of all that of Tachibana sinking on the waves while the ship

sails off on a calm sea. All over the eastern provinces shrines are found in which his memory is reverently worshipped as the national model of loyalty, bravery and devotion, and his name is still used to rouse the courage of the Emperor's soldiers, who are asked, on the eve of battle, to remember Yamato Dake, and to fight and sacrifice their lives freely for the Emperor's sake with the undaunted spirit that he displayed throughout his life.

Keikō died in 130 A.D., at the age of 143 years, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Seimu, who reigned for sixty-one uneventful years. He left no son, and was therefore succeeded by his nephew Chiuai, the son of Yamato Dake. In person he was a worthy son of his handsome father. His features were beautiful, and his stature, as did that of his grandfather, exceeded ten feet. Early in his reign rebellion once more broke out in Kiushiu, and the Emperor, as his grandfather had done, took the field in person to suppress it. He was accompanied by his Empress, a lady of strong character, courage and energy, and of unbounded ambition, the greatest heroine in Japanese history, the equal of its greatest heroes, and the first to display the glory of the divine land beyond the seas.

One day during the campaign the Emperor was playing on his lute, when the Empress became divinely inspired. The result of her inspiration is described in the Kojiki:—

"She then charged the Emperor: 'There is a land to the westward, and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. I will now bestow this land upon thee.' Then the Emperor replied, saying: 'If one ascend to a high place and look westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea,' and saying: 'They are lying Deities,' he pushed away his august lute. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: 'As for this Empire, it is not a land over which thou oughtest to rule: do thou go to the one road.' Hereupon the Prime

Minister, the noble Takeuchi, said: 'I am filled with awe; my Heavenly Sovereign, continue playing thy great august lute.' Then the Emperor slowly drew his august lute languidly to him. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, the Heavenly Sovereign was dead."

Korea was at this time divided into three kingdoms, and some communications between at least one of them and Japan had already taken place during the reigns of the Emperors Sūjin and Suinin. It is not easy, therefore, to understand Chiuai's incredulity. The Empress had greater faith in the Gods, greater ambition and greater statesmanship than her husband. A foreign conquest would ensure to her greater fame than the subdual of an ordinary local outbreak, and the union of the people against a foreign foe might also bring with it lasting domestic peace. With the aid of the Prime Minister, Takeuchi, who lived to the age of 360 years and served six successive Emperors, all knowledge of the Emperor's death was suppressed, his body was temporarily buried at night, and in his name the Empress proceeded with her preparations. Further divine omens promised her success. Out of the threads of her garment she made a fishing-line and from a needle a hook, and standing on a stone in the middle of the river, she said, "If I am to succeed, let the fish of the river bite the hook." She at once caught a trout. Afterwards women only used to fish in that river in the early part of the fourth month in each year. If men tried it they had no success. Then she bathed in the sea, and said, "If I am to succeed, let my hair be parted in two." Her hair parted of its own accord, so she henceforth wore it and dressed as a man. Her fleet and army were then ready, and she took the command in person. She was at this time pregnant, but she tied a stone in her girdle and wore it constantly, and thus delayed her delivery. The day of sailing into

the unknown waters came and the Gods again displayed their favour. A great wave came which carried the whole fleet with it rapidly and safely, and even the fishes of the sea bore on their backs the vessel which carried the Empress herself and brought it at the head of the fleet to the shores of Southern Korea. The waves penetrated far into the land, adding to the terror of the Koreans, who were taken entirely by surprise. They thought their country was going to be swallowed by the ocean, while the fleet of the invaders rode on the waves in perfect security. No tidings of the coming invasion had reached them, and the arrival of the great fleet gave the first intimation of the fate that threatened them. Powerless to resist, they submitted without striking a single blow, and their King promised solemnly, in their names, that they would be subject to Japan and pay annual tribute "until the sun rose in the West, the rivers flowed backwards, and the stones on earth became stars in the sky." Eighty vessels were laden with the spoils of gold and silver and silk; hostages were taken, and the fleet returned in triumph to Japan after an absence of less than three months. Then the Empress's child was at last born. All these things happened in the year 200 A.D. For hundreds of years afterwards the Koreans faithfully fulfilled their promise of sending annual tribute, and the custom was destined to exercise a great influence on the destinies of Japan. It became the source of a system of civilization which lasted for thirteen centuries; it was freely quoted as one of the grounds which justified Japan's modern interference in the domestic and foreign affairs of Korea, an interference which was the cause of her wars with both China and Russia. None of the miraculous incidents which accompanied it have prevented the Japanese from regarding the invasion as a historic event, on which they look back with exulting pride as a triumph of organiza-

tion and valour achieved under the guidance and command of a woman. The Empress lived and governed for nearly seventy years after her exploit, and she was a hundred years old when she died. She was succeeded by the son whose birth had been so miraculously retarded, who became the Emperor Ojin. Although she governed the country throughout all these years with no less vigour and success than she had shown in her conquest, she is considered to have done so only in the name of her husband, who, though dead, was by a fiction, common enough in later history, supposed to be still reigning, and the honour of a separate place in the official list of Sovereigns of the Empire is not given her. Her son was believed to have inspired her with the wisdom and generalship that carried out the conquest, and while a very subordinate place is given to the mother in the National Pantheon, while her memory is mainly preserved as that of a general and governor of human standard, the son, who throughout his reign was tried neither by civil nor domestic war, who had no opportunity of showing either courage or military capacity, of whom nearly all that is told is of his success in love, was deified as Hachiman, the God of War. Splendid temples have been dedicated to his honour at Tokio, Kamakura and Kioto; he was chosen many centuries after his death as their patron god by the Minamoto, the greatest family of warriors that Japan has ever produced; and it is to him that soldiers still pray when they are about to proceed on active service.

The Japanese preserved until the Korean invasion some of the characteristics of a nomadic people, who, though they had emerged from the conditions of absolute barbarism, were in their ignorance and customs but a little away above the degree of savages. The Go Kinai, the five provinces around Kioto, enjoyed the benefits of a Government able to enforce its will and to

preserve at least a semblance of order among the inhabitants, but the authority of this Government over the outlying provinces of the west, still more over the island of Kiushiu, was only nominal, and was stoutly resisted when attempts were made to enforce it. The north, as far as the plains of Kuantō, had been overrun and conquered by Yamato Dake, but no serious attempt had as yet been made to colonize it, and it remained in a state of primitive savagery, held by the fierce and truculent Ainus, among whom Japanese settlers could hope for security neither of life nor property. In the home provinces, the seat of the Court and Emperor, there were neither towns nor roads. The largest congregation of inhabitants never much exceeded the degree of a village. The capital is frequently mentioned, but the capital meant simply the residence of the Emperor, and that, though always called a palace, was of such simple construction that the same palace was never used for two successive reigns. Where the framework of the palace was of wood, its roof of the rudest thatch, its walls also of grass or rushes bound by ropes made from fibrous plants or rushes, destitute of ornamentation, with no pretence to architectural beauty or solidity, with only earthen floors, covered with rugs of skins or grass, the houses even of the nobility can have been little better than fragile huts which gave no inducement to the owners to become permanent dwellers in any one spot. Castles are occasionally mentioned, but the rapidity with which they were constructed forbids any other assumption than that they were merely stockades of bamboo grass and timber hastily thrown up on the approach of a foe of superior strength, so as to afford some shelter from his arrows.

Rice was cultivated from the earliest times, and other cereals and plants are occasionally mentioned; but the main occupations were those of hunters and fishers, and

hunting and fishing were the chief sources of the supply of food. The fermented rice beer, which is the national intoxicating drink to the present day, appears to have been known from the earliest days, and drinking to excess was an ordinary occurrence. Manufacturing industry scarcely existed even in its most primitive aspects. Weaving and sewing were the recognized occupations of the women. Even the Sun Goddess was engaged in the supervision of the weaving of the garments of the Gods when she was the victim of one of the worst practical jokes of her unruly brother, and the Empress Jingō made a fishing-line and hook of the thread of her garments and a needle. The details of the tragic fate of the Princess Tachibana show that silk was not unknown, but this is an isolated instance of its mention. The cultivation and use of cotton were not introduced until the ninth century, and Japan has never been—is not to the present day—a wool-producing country, and hemp and mulberry bark are the only materials that are mentioned as furnishing the fabrics from which clothing was made. The ordinary dress included a considerable variety of garments: skirt, upper garment, girdle and trousers, and hat are all mentioned. Swords, spears and arrow heads that could penetrate more deeply than would have been possible for either stone or bone, and metal mirrors all testify that the use of iron was common; and when human sacrifices were abolished at Imperial funerals the aid of the guild of potters was invoked to supply earthen images to take the place of the dead princes' attendants and horses, so that it may be assumed that earthenware utensils were in common domestic use.

At the head of the nation was the Emperor, vested, in virtue of his divine descent and of his incarnation on earth of the Gods of Heaven, once he was placed on the throne, with absolute and unquestioned autocracy,

which, in fact, was only exercised over the people in or near Yamato. The rest of the people were grouped into territorial clans, each clan governed by its own hereditary chief, who was responsible and owed the most complete allegiance to the Emperor, but was free to govern his own clan as he pleased so long as he did nothing that conflicted with the Emperor's wishes or decrees, or made no open defiance to his sovereignty. Rebellions were common on the parts of the chiefs of the clans distant from the capital, and military operations for their suppression were frequent throughout the centuries antecedent to the Christian Era. The clan was composed of families, and outside the pale of the clan families, all of which claimed a certain degree of aristocratic descent and birth, were serfs, attached either to the Imperial or local domains, probably the unmixed descendants of the aborigines who remained on the lands that had fallen into the possession of the conquerors, instead of following their own people to the north.

Morality—according to our sense of the word—was of a very low degree. There was no legal form of marriage, and the only restriction on consanguineous marriages was that of brother and sister born of the same father and mother. Marriages between brother and sister of the same father but of different mothers, between nephew and aunt, son and father's widow, were all common. Polygamy was universal, and the only distinction between wives and concubines was that of name, the concubines being of the same rank in life as in many cases the younger sisters of the wife, and wife or concubines could equally be divorced at any time at the whim of the husband. Between the children of the wives and concubines there was not even a distinction of name. All were equally the legitimate children of the father, and those of the concubine were not unfrequently preferred in the succession to those

of the acknowledged wife. Over wives, concubines and children, the head of the family exercised the most unqualified powers. They were his chattels, to be disposed of as he wished. If he committed a crime that could be atoned for by a fine, wife and children could be sold to defray the fine. If the crime was punishable by death—and the last penalty was inflicted for very trivial offences—wife, concubines and children all shared their master's fate.

Books there were none, the art of writing was unknown, there was not even a system of hieroglyphs; all communications were oral, and oral tradition was the sole means by which the records of events were preserved.

The Empress Jingō brought back with her from Korea some perception of a higher order of civilization than what she had hitherto known, and every successive tribute-bearing embassy that came to Japan became a civilizing medium for the spread of knowledge and for softening the manners of a rude and barbarous people. Writing was introduced in the fifth century, and the art and science, literature, religion, laws, social and political systems of China gradually followed and slowly but surely made their impress on Japan. A steady stream of teachers poured into the country, not only from Korea, but from China, and paved the way for the advent of Buddhist missionaries, not only priests and nuns, but temple builders and image carvers, who ultimately achieved what is perhaps the greatest missionary triumph that the world has ever seen. They converted, not a section, but an entire nation, and even the sanctity of the Court proved no bar to their proselytizing energy. The Emperor, who believed himself to be God Incarnate, his consort, and their Court were at last numbered among their converts, and gave both their influence and their wealth to the honour and promotion of the new religion throughout the Empire.

CHAPTER IV

THE DAWN OF HISTORY

THE annals of the Emperors who followed Ojin on the throne are mainly occupied with genealogies, with disputed questions as to the succession, and with tales of their amorous adventures. His immediate successor, Nintoku (313–399), was distinguished for benevolence and humanity. He remitted taxation and forced labour, and, until the economic condition of his people became prosperous, lived in such self-denial that even the roof of the palace was left unrepaired, so that the rain leaked in, and the inmates had to make their beds in places where there was no leakage. He was troubled with a jealous Empress who refused to recognize the usual privileges of the Sovereign. "The Concubines of the Heavenly Sovereign could not even peep inside the palace." The most beautiful among them fled from it. Human nature was much the same in those as in later days. Taking advantage of the Empress's absence on a progress, the Emperor sought consolation in the society of another Princess. The Empress was promptly told of it by one of the ladies of her own train, and in her indignation refused to return to the Emperor. In vain one of the Courtiers attempted to plead with her, and, hoping for an audience, remained prostrate day and night in her courtyard, drenched with snow and rain. The Empress was obdurate till her death. The next three Emperors, Rikiu (400–406), Hanzei (406–410), and Ingyō (412–453), were all sons of Nintoku. Ingyō,

the nineteenth of the line, suffered from long illness, and was with difficulty induced to accept the throne. Fortunately the first bearer of the Korean tribute in his reign was a skilled physician, and the Emperor was cured of his sickness by him, and thenceforward the Chinese system of medicine was studied and practised in Japan. His reign was notable for one important domestic reform. Confusion had arisen in the titles and names of the patrician families—many used titles to which they had no right, or claimed a descent, which was wholly spurious, from previous Emperors, or even from the Heavenly Gods. All the patricians were subjected to the ordeal of hot water, and, after having fasted and purified themselves, they plunged their bare arms into cauldrons of boiling water or mud. Those who were worthy of the names they claimed came through the ordeal harmless; the impostors suffered, and many who had no faith in their case refused to undergo the test. The lists of the noble families were rectified, and as they were faithfully preserved from that time, there was no longer any doubt as to their correctness, and the rightful claims of those whose names were entered in them.

During his lifetime, the Emperor Ingyō nominated his eldest son, Prince Kara, as heir-apparent. The Prince was so beautiful that all looked upon him with admiration; his sister was equally beautiful, and the Prince loved her so that he could not control his passion, and secretly wedded her. Unions between brothers and sisters of the same father but of different mothers were common, and aroused no comment, but in this case they were of full blood, and when what had happened became known the people were shocked. So when the father died, all the officials and people repudiated the eldest, and conferred the succession on the younger son, the Emperor Ankō (453–456). The eldest was banished, and

his sister followed him, and both died together by their own hands. There was a still younger brother, on whose behalf the Emperor sought the hand in marriage of the sister of Prince Okusaka, both Prince and sister being the children of the Emperor Nintoku, and therefore uncle and aunt of the Emperor Ankō and his brother the suitor for the lady's hand. The messenger whom he sent brought back a false answer that Okusaka refused to give his consent to the proposed marriage, and also appropriated to himself a jewelled head-dress which Okusaka had sent as a token of his willingness to comply with the Emperor's wish. Then the Emperor was wroth and attacked and slew Okusaka, and took both his widow and sister. As Nintoku died in 399 and it was now 454, the sister at least and the widow in all probability of the slain Prince cannot have been very young but that consideration did not prevent the Emperor wedding the widow and making her his Empress, and giving the sister in marriage to his younger brother Now the new Empress had a son by her first marriage who, being only a boy of seven years of age, was taken to the Palace with her. One day, as he was playing near the chamber in which the Emperor and Empress were resting at midday, he overheard them talking of the death of his father, and angered at what he heard, he waited until the Emperor was asleep, and then, drawing his sword and creeping stealthily into the chamber, he young as he was, murdered the Emperor as he slept Yūriaku, Ankō's youngest brother, succeeded to the throne. He possessed both great bodily strength and a violent temper, over which he exercised so little control that "one who saw him in the morning was slain in the evening, and one who saw him in the evening was slain by morning." His brother's murder roused his fiercest anger. Two elder brothers were living. Neither seemed to share his anger to a degree that was worthy

of the dignity and relationship to themselves of the dead Emperor. So he killed them both, the first with his sword; the second "he clutched by the collar, pulled him along, and, digging a pit, buried him as he stood, so that by the time he had been buried up to the loins both his eyes burst out, and he died." Then the actual murderer became the object of his vengeance. The boy took refuge in the house of the Chief Minister of State, who refused to surrender him. Yūriaku attacked the house, and though a determined resistance was made, the strength of the defenders was soon exhausted. The house was burned, and Prince, minister and all the inmates perished with it. There was one more Prince still living who stood between the throne and Yūriaku. The Emperor Rikiu (400–406) at his death left two sons, who were considered too young to succeed him, and who were therefore set aside in favour of their uncle. Ankō had contemplated conferring the title of Prince Imperial on Prince Oshiba, the eldest, so that the succession would have come to him at Ankō's death; but the latter's murder took place before the investiture was made. Prince Oshiba had therefore only a moral claim to the throne, but all the circumstances rendered it stronger than Yūriaku's. He had therefore to be removed. The two Princes went on a hunting expedition together. Yūriaku put on armour underneath his hunting clothes, took bow and arrows, and, in an interval of the chase, when Oshiba was riding with a tranquil heart, shot him with an arrow, cut his body to pieces, and buried the pieces without ceremony in a horse's manger, and the other son of Rikiu was soon killed, though in a less treacherous manner. All these events took place within three months from the Emperor Ankō's death, and the way to the throne was then clear for Yūriaku, who assumed the Imperial Dignity. His reign lasted for twenty-two years (457–479). Ambas-

sadors are mentioned as having arrived from China, and Japanese generals were sent to take part in a war that broke out between two of the Korean Kings; but generally history tells only of his hunting expeditions and of his amours. Some of its incidents, insignificant though they are, have appealed to Japanese painters, and are favourite subjects with the lovers and writers of romance. One at least bears some resemblance to a story in the Bible.

One of the officials of the Palace was one day praising the beauty of his wife to his fellows when the Emperor overheard him, and desired to obtain the wife for himself. So he dispatched the husband on a mission to Korea, and having thus got him out of the way, at once took possession of his wife. When the husband in Korea heard of what had happened, he threw off his allegiance to his own country, and, leaving his post in Imna, one of the Korean kingdoms, cast his lot with the rival kingdom of Silla, which had ceased to send tribute to Japan, so that he became a traitor, and died without ever returning home.

Once when hunting the Emperor saw a very beautiful girl washing clothes at a river-side. Pleased with her beauty, he told her not to marry and that he would send for her. So the girl went home and waited. Eighty years passed by, and no message came to her from the Palace. The girl, having become an old and decrepit woman, with face and form lean and withered, though without hope, resolved to present herself at the Palace and tell the Emperor how faithfully she had waited for him. When he heard her story he was greatly startled, and in his pity wished to take her then, but he could not make the marriage on account of her extreme old age. So he sent her back plentifully endowed.

Again, when he was hunting on Mount Kayurake, a furious wild boar rushed roaring out of the bush and

charged him. His attendants were terror-struck, and fled and took refuge in the trees; but the Emperor stood firm, and faced and shot the boar with an arrow and killed it. Then he ordered his cowardly attendants to be executed, but on the Empress's intercession—she told him he would be no better than a wolf himself if he had them put to death—he pardoned them, and was rewarded by the loyal plaudits of the people as he returned with the Empress in their carriage.

On another occasion, as he was holding a great feast in the open beneath a tree, a leaf fell into the wine-cup just as one of the female attendants was handing it to him. The attendant did not notice the leaf, and the Heavenly Sovereign, angered at her carelessness, knocked her down, and was about to cut her head off with his sword. But she sang a song which appealed to both Emperor and Empress, and so her crime was pardoned.

It was in the closing years of his reign that the fisher-boy, Urashima, the Rip van Winkle of Japan, disappeared from his home. He went fishing alone in his boat off the coast of Tango, a province on the west coast of the main island, where his home was, and as he was on the sea he caught a turtle, which changed into the form of a beautiful girl as soon as he took it into his boat. Taking Urashima by the hand, she told him that she was the daughter of the Sea God, and then led him beneath the waves, where they came together to an island of wonderful beauty, covered with splendid palaces. This was Hōrai San, the land of eternal life. There he married the girl, and with her he passed three years of unclouded and unchanging happiness. Then a longing came to him to see his home and parents once more, and his wife, though sad at parting from him even for a brief time, told him that he might go, as his longing was so great; but in order that he might come

back to her and live with her for ever she gave him a casket, which he was to carry with him always, but never to open. Then she placed him again in his own boat, and when he looked round he found that he was in front of his old home on the sea-coast. But when he landed all was changed; he knew neither houses nor people, and when he asked for the family of Urashima he was told that they had disappeared more than three hundred years ago. It was in the year 479 that he went fishing and caught the turtle. It was 825 when he came back. Then, sad and lonely, he wandered away towards the East, carrying the casket with him. At last, thinking of his happy days with the Sea God's daughter and forgetting her earnest injunction, he one day opened the casket. A silver cloud rose from it and floated away towards the sea beneath which lay the enchanted island. The cloud was the elixir of life of Hōrai San that gave immortality to whomsoever it belonged. Urashima was then in the prime of vigorous youth. In a moment he changed into an old and decrepit man, and in a little while he died from the weakness of old age.

The story of the treacherous murder of Prince Oshiba has been told. He left two sons, both of whom were still children at the time of his death. Japanese methods of dealing with political adversaries in that age and for very many centuries afterwards, as far, indeed, as the introduction of the first influence of European civilization, were thorough, and the Emperor Yūriaku would have been only too ready to destroy the saplings along with the parent tree, and the children would have found little mercy at his unsparing hands. They were saved by faithful servants, and fled from the Court at Yamato to the Province of Harima. Here they were lost to sight and to memory, and fell into such poverty that both became grooms and cowherds, earning their daily livelihood by serving the keeper of the State granaries.

Yūriaku's son and successor, Seinei (480–484 A.D.), had no children, and it was a continual sorrow to him that he could not provide for the Imperial succession. A new Governor was appointed to the Province of Harima, and a feast was given by the inhabitants to welcome him. The two young cowherds were present to perform the duty of keeping the fire alight. When the merriment was at its height both were called upon to sing and dance, and the new Governor started from his seat when he heard rustic menials sing songs that could have been learned nowhere else than in the Imperial Court. He took both youths on his knees,[1] questioned and examined them, and soon satisfied himself that they were the lost children of the dead Oshiba, the rightful heirs to the throne. A messenger was dispatched on a swift steed to the Emperor, who, when he heard the tidings, exclaimed: "Heaven in its bountiful love has bestowed on us two children." So the cowherds were sent for and brought in state to the Palace. There their true rank was restored to them. In the following year the Emperor died, and the elder of the brothers having ceded his claims, the younger succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Kenzō (485–487). His reign was short, and he also having died childless, the elder brother received the reward of his magnanimity, and became the Emperor Ninken (488–498). Neither reign was distinguished by striking events, but the brothers in their own early lifetime had experienced the misery and suffering of the poor, both knew the evil results of oppression and cruelty. Both reigned with mercy, used no forced labour, and freely dispensed charity, and their government was so founded on consideration for the welfare of the people that peace, prosperity, abundance

[1] The latest date at which Prince Oshiba's murder can have taken place was 458. It was now 480, so that the Governor must have taken two very substantial youths on his knees.

and happiness were universal throughout the land, and the population multiplied. They did not forget the only possibilities of exercising their filial piety that were possible to them. Their father's body had been cast away in an unknown and unmarked grave. By diligent search, a poor old woman was discovered who had witnessed the burial, and had never forgotten the spot where it took place. She pointed it out to the Emperor, and when the place was excavated the bones were found both of the Prince and of a faithful servant who had died with him. The skeletons could not be distinguished, but the formation of the teeth enabled the Prince to be easily recognized.[1] Both were buried in one grave and with the same rites. The poor old woman was taken into the Palace and honoured with the Emperor's own loving care. As she was frail and infirm, a rope was stretched from her own to the Emperor's chambers to support her as she walked, with a bell at the end so that she could ring it and give notice to the Emperor of her coming, without being dependent on the ordinary formalities. As the two Emperors paid the last duties of filial piety, so also did they punish when punishment was due. In their flight as children, they were robbed of their stock of provisions by a rough boarherd with a tattooed face. They sought him out, and when they found him they beheaded him, and cut the knee tendons of all his kindred. So the descendants of that family limped for ever after.

The second brother was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son, Muretsu (499–506). Heredity makes strange mistakes, but there is no instance in all the history of the world where father and son have presented a greater contrast than in this. The son was even more cruel, tyrannical and extortionate than the father

[1] "Oshiba" means prominent teeth. The Prince was distinguished for the beauty of his teeth.

merciful, humane and benevolent. He resumed the practice of forced labour, levied increased taxes, and, while living himself in riotous and wanton luxury, took no thought for the suffering of the oppressed people. His only redeeming quality was that he was fond of hunting, of dog and horse racing, and in the pursuit of sport was indifferent to wind and weather. He found his greatest pleasures in the contemplation of human suffering. He always witnessed in person executions and trials by torture. He made men climb to the tops of trees, and then either cut down the trees while the men were at the tops or shot at them with arrows. He pulled off the hair of their heads and the nails of their fingers. He made them lie on the sluices of the dams and then turned the water on them, so that they were washed away. The horror of his cruelties to women do not bear telling. All the people of the land lived in unceasing dread. Fortunately his reign was not long, and he died childless.

Three uneventful reigns may now be passed over, and we come to that of the Emperor Kimmei (539–571), in which the inception took place of the great religious revolution which was destined to influence the whole social condition of Japan for more than thirteen centuries, and to be the foundation of the system of national civilization which lasted until, in the nineteenth century, it gave way before the greater strength of the civilization of the West.

More than three hundred years had now passed since the invasion of Korea by the Empress Jingō, and throughout the whole of this period there had been constant intercourse between the two countries. The Koreans had been faithful to their promise to send annual tribute to Japan; the Japanese, on the other hand, had on several occasions interfered in the internal complications that from time to time took place between the three kingdoms into which Korea was divided, and

assumed the part of a suzerain in enforcing peace when the differences between the kingdoms eventuated in active hostilities. Notwithstanding its divisions and discords and the military weakness which rendered it an easy prey to the Japanese invaders, inured to warfare in their own country, Korea had already attained to an immeasurably higher degree of civilization than Japan when the invasion occurred. It had reaped the benefit of five centuries' close intercourse with China, and the art, literature and religion of China had already taken firm root, and their luxurious growth spread over all the land. It formed, therefore, an object lesson to its rude conquerors, and as time went on, as the conquerors learned more of the true essence of Korea's social conditions, founded on the religion and civilization of China, the lesson brought concrete results which were destined to become the basis of Japan's own system of government, education and culture; in fact, of her whole social organization.

In the reign of the Emperor Kimmei (539–571), the twenty-ninth successor of Jimmu Tenno on the throne, Buddhism began to exercise its influence in the Court. During the first twelve years of this reign, there had been continuous turmoils in Korea, and the influence of Japan had been frequently called upon to aid in the settlement of the quarrels which occurred between the three rival kingdoms. Pekche, threatened by a combination of the other two kingdoms, had especially been made the object of Japan's protecting care, and when, towards the close of the year 552, the King dispatched an embassy to Japan in gratitude for the favour he had received, he sent with it an image [1] of Sakayamune in gold and copper, which had been in Korea for more than a thousand years, and some volumes of

[1] The image was said to have been made by Sakayamune (Buddha) himself from gold found on the sacred mountain, which is the centre of the universe, and brought to Korea five hundred years after it was made. The Temple in which it is now preserved in the city of Nagano

Sutras, the canonical books which are supposed to contain the very words of Buddha. In a memorial presented along with the image and the books, the King said—

"This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain and hard to comprehend. It can create religious merit and retribution without measure and without bounds, and so lead to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom. Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to the three Han, where there are none who do not receive it with reverence as it is preached to them. Thy servant, therefore, Myong, King of Pekche, has humbly dispatched his retainer to transmit it to the Imperial Country, and to diffuse it abroad throughout the home provinces, so as to fulfil the recorded saying of Buddha: 'My law shall spread to the East.'"

The Emperor, on hearing these words, leaped for joy and said—

"Never from former days until now have we had the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine."

He was, however, unable of himself to decide so weighty a matter as to whether the Buddha, whose countenance was of a dignity such as had never been seen before, should be worshipped or not, and he therefore submitted the decision to the three chief councillors of his Court. The chief priest, Nakatomi, and another, thought that if foreign Deities were preferred to the National Gods, the country would suffer. Soga asked, "Shall the land of Yamato alone refuse to worship the God that is accepted by all the Western lands?" So the image was given to Soga to worship as an experi-

is one of the greatest Buddhist foundations in Japan. The image is enclosed in a series of boxes, fitting into each other, only the outward one of which can be seen.

ment. The results were dire; Soga retired from the world and built a temple for the image. Then a pestilence broke out in the land, and there was great mortality among the people. It was ascribed by the other two councillors to the rejection of their advice, and, as no remedy could be found for the pestilence, it was ordered that the image should be destroyed. The temple containing it was therefore burnt, and the image thrown into the river at Osaka. Then lightning fell from a cloudless sky and consumed the Imperial Palace, and the two evil councillors perished along with the Palace. The image was then recovered from the river, and Soga permitted to build a new temple for it. In the following year Buddhistic chants were heard from the sea at Izumi, and when investigation was made as to their origin, a log of camphor-wood was found floating on the surface. The Emperor ordered two images of Buddha to be made from it, and priests were brought from Korea to expound the doctrine. The Emperor's reign lasted for another eighteen years, but no further attempt was made by him to extend the new religion, and its feeble life was only kept in being by the reverence of the first great convert, Soga.

In the following reign, Bidatsu (572–585), two more images were brought from Korea—one of Buddha and one of Miroku—the Buddhist Messiah—and were taken in charge by Soga no Niame, the son of Soga no Umako, who enshrined them in a temple, and had three young nuns instructed in the Buddhist offices, so that they might be competent to serve the temple. Pestilence again broke out, and the nation was in danger of extinction, and once more the Emperor, warned by the consequences of his impiety in permitting Soga to continue his idolatrous services, yielded as his predecessor had done, and ordered that Buddhism should be discontinued. The Temple was again burned, and the nuns stripped of their vestments and flogged at the road-

side, and the original image once more thrown into the river. Attempts had been made to burn it, but it resisted the flames; and to smash it with iron sledge hammers, but it was the hammers that were broken, while the image remained uninjured. The pestilence continued, and the land was again filled with the dying. The Emperor himself was at last attacked, and, as he was dying, he was told that his want of faith was the cause of his illness. So he gave permission to Soga alone to practise the Buddhist religion, and permitted him to rebuild the Temple and to call back and restore the dishonoured nuns to their old service. For seventeen years the image lay in the river bed where it had been thrown, and then it was recovered by a native of Shinano, who took it to his own home, and he and his descendants cared for it for fifty years, when the great Temple of Zenkōji was built at Nagano by the Empress Kōgioku. There the image remains till this day, and tens of thousands of pilgrims annually come from the most remote parts of the Empire to do reverence to it.

During the reigns of Bidatsu and his successors, Yōmei (585–587) and Sujun (588–592), Buddhism, though making little headway in the Court, spread widely among the people. Priests and nuns were sent from Japan to Korea to study, and Korean monks in their turn came to Japan, together with nuns, architects and image makers, and a successful proselytizing campaign was carried on, which brought thousands of the people within the folds of the new Church. But it was not until the reign of the Empress Suiko (593–628), the first woman to occupy the Imperial throne, that its future prosperity became assured by the conversion of the Empress and her principal minister and champion. The Empress was the daughter of the Emperor Kimmei (539–571), a sister both of Yōmei and also of Sujun, and the widow of Bidatsu, her half-brother, so that she was closely related to all her predecessors. Her

immediate predecessor was assassinated and left no children, so that there was no male left to fill the succession, and the Empress, after three refusals, at last listened to the prayers of the ministers and assumed the Imperial dignity. Her appearance was beautiful and her conduct irreproachable.

In the preceding reign, Moriji, the Omuraji or chief of the clan Mononobe, one of the chief councillors, opposed the Emperor's accession, wishing that the throne should be given to another Prince, the son of the Emperor Senkwa (536–539), and formed a plot to carry out his purpose. The plot was discovered and the Prince arrested and executed, but the Omuraji, who had a large following, withdrew to Shibukawa in Kawachi, and established himself in a strongly fortified position, where he met the attack of the Imperial army which was sent against him. The attack was three times repulsed. One of the younger Princes serving in the Imperial army was Mumayado, still a mere youth of sixteen years, but already a sincere Buddhist and a valiant soldier. When the third repulse took place, he pondered deeply on its cause and said, "Without prayer we cannot succeed." So he carved an image of the four Deva Kings, the Buddhist guardians of the world against evil spirits, and placed it in his queue, and gave all his own personal followers pictures of the Kings to wear upon their armour. Then, having vowed if successful to erect a temple and pagoda in honour of the Kings, he led his own men at the head of a fourth attack. This time it succeeded. The Omuraji himself ascended a tree, from which he directed the movements of his soldiers; but an arrow fired by an expert archer, under Mumayado's own directions, pierced his breast, and he fell dead to the ground. Then his army, their leader gone, broke and fled, and the victory was won by the piety and valour of Mumayado. This was the first exploit of a prince who, as soldier, statesman and

propagandist, was destined to be the founder of civilized Japan, whose life marked the passing of the last lingering stages of barbarism from the land of the Gods, and the firm establishment of a religion that became a guidance and influence for thirteen hundred years.

The Prince, who was born in 572, was the son of the Emperor Yōmei, his father and mother the Empress, being half-brother and sister, the children of the same father by different mothers. One day, when his mother was making a visit of inspection round the Palace grounds, his birth suddenly took place at the entrance of the Imperial stables, and the name of Mumayado ("stable door") was accordingly given to him. He is, however, known to history by his posthumous name of Shōtoku Daishi ("great apostle of true virtue"). When this name was conferred on him, the Buddhist priests, dissatisfied with the more prosaic story of his birth, accounted for all his virtues by giving him a semi-divine descent, not from the ancient Gods of Japan—which, being the son of an Emperor, and therefore a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess, he could claim already—but from a Buddhist divinity. They said that one day as his mother slept the God Kwannon [1] appeared to her in a dream and said that he would be born again through her to save the world. He then entered her mouth and she became pregnant, and the child that was born at the stable door was really the incarnation of the God.

Be it as it may, the child from its earliest years gave marked evidence of both piety and intelligence of a high degree. He was able to speak when only four months old, and when little over a year he voluntarily knelt towards the East and, with clasped hands, repeated the holy invocation to Buddha, and when his hands were opened they were found to contain a holy relic of Buddha's body. As he grew in years the promise of

[1] The Buddhist God of Mercy, more frequently, however, spoken of and worshipped as a goddess.

his childhood was more than fulfilled. He studied and acquired a complete knowledge of the Buddhist doctrine and the Chinese classics, and as his intelligence and wisdom were equal to his industry, his judgment never failed, and "he could attend to the suits of ten men at one time and decide all without error."

The Prince served the new Empress, his aunt, throughout the first twenty-nine years of her reign, and during all these years he was her prime minister, her trusted friend and the inspirer of all her policy. As might be expected from the story of his childhood, his influence was from the first exerted in favour of Buddhism, and the Empress, yielding to it, became the most zealous convert. She ordered that everything should be done to promote the three treasures, Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood, and thenceforward nobles and people alike vied with each other in erecting temples and doing honour to the new religion. Mumayado himself was among the foremost. He fulfilled the vow he had made in his first battle against the traitorous Omuraji by building the Temple of Tennōji in Osaka, a temple which, many times destroyed during the civil wars of the Middle Ages, was always piously rebuilt with increased magnificence, which at the present day still remains one of the greatest Buddhist foundations in Japan. The holy relic of Buddha's body, the pupil of the left eye, which was found in Mumayado's hands, was reverently deposited in the monastery of Horiuji, specially built by the Prince to receive it, half-way between Nara and Osaka, close to the maple-clad banks of the river Tatsuta, the joy of painters and poets, who equally love to depict their autumn glories. Many new buildings were added to the monastery from time to time in succeeding centuries, but the original building remains to this day, the oldest existing type of Buddhist architecture in the Empire, having survived all the civil wars and general ruin that temporarily fell both on

Buddhist priests and temples in the sixteenth century, when both were victims of a merciless crusade. The monastery is a holy spot not only to Buddhist devotees, to pilgrims to the shrine of one of the greatest national heroes, but to antiquaries. Many of the decorations placed in it when it was built still survive; some alleged to be the work of Mumayado's own hands, for he was both a sculptor and a painter himself, as well as soldier and devotee; some the work of the best Korean and Chinese artists of the time, when Japanese art was still at a very low state of development; some depicting incidents in the life of the founder; some subjects sacred in Buddhism; but one and all a joy to both the antiquarian and the artist. Touching evidence is given of the faith of true believers in the swords and mirrors that in heaps encumber one part of the temple. The sword was the dearest possession of a samurai, the mirror the dearest possession of a woman, not so much as a medium through which she can rejoice in her own beauty, but as the symbol of the Sun Goddess whom she worships, Both have been freely sacrificed here as thank-offerings for prayers answered by the Gods for the restoration of the givers to health after long and serious illness.[1]

As a statesman, Prince Mumayado left an impress on his country which was but little less marked than that of his religious propagandism. He was nominated Prince Imperial, heir-apparent to the throne, very early in the reign, and, enjoying all the confidence of his Imperial Mistress, was entrusted with full control over the administration, and he used his powers to lead Japan further onward in the paths of civilization of China.

[1] It is now thirty-five years since the present writer last visited the monastery, and it had already then begun to suffer from the spirit of vandalism that was prevalent among Japanese during the seventies of the nineteenth century, when they thought that neglect or even destruction of their own historical monuments, and even of works of

The best teachers were encouraged by the gift of rank of high degree, sufficiently high to enable them to claim enrolment in the nobility, to immigrate both from China and Korea. They brought with them books on astronomy, the calendar, geography and medicine, and students were assigned to them to be perfected in these sciences by their teaching. Teachers of magic and sorcery also appeared among the tribute bearers from Korea, and the tribute included gifts of magpies and peacocks among more substantial items. An embassy came from China, and was received with all the public honours and ceremonial that is given by a civilized nation to the accredited representative of a friendly sovereign. Two months were occupied in its journey from Kiushiu to Naniwa (Osaka), but there it was met and conveyed up the river in gaily decorated boats. When the embassy landed, it was received by high officers of the Court specially appointed to entertain it, and at the reception by the Empress all her princes and ministers wore golden head-dresses and were arrayed in embroidered robes of brocade or silk. Prior to this the Chinese system of classification of official ranks in twelve degrees had been adopted, and officials were distinguished, as in China, by the colour of their caps. A code of laws was, for the first time in Japanese history, drawn up by the Prince Imperial with his own hand, embodying the best principles of Chinese philosophy, and laying down those under which the administration should be conducted, and these laws serve to the present day as guides for the moral conduct of the state officers in their relations with the people.

art, was the best way to manifest their devotion to Western civilization. It was seriously contemplated by them at one time in that period to melt down the great statue of "Dai Butsu" at Kamakura, the grandest statue in the world, for the sake of the gold, silver and copper of which it is composed, and they were only prevented from doing so by the vigorous remonstrances of Europeans in Japan.

One story, which has many parallels in European history, may be told to illustrate the benevolence of the Prince. Once when he was on a journey he found a starving beggar lying by the road in so great a state of exhaustion that he could not even tell his name. The Prince gave him food and drink, and taking off his own cloak, wrapped it round the starving man, saying to him, "Lie in peace." Next day a messenger was sent to see after him, and they found that he was dead. So the Prince had him buried. Many days afterwards he again sent to inspect the tomb. The earth was undisturbed, but the tomb was empty. There was nothing in it but the coffin, with the cloak laid neatly folded on top of it. So the Prince knew that it was no ordinary man whom he had relieved, and he wore the mantle as he had done before.

When he died all the people mourned his loss.

"All the princes and people of the Empire filled the ways with the sound of their lamenting, the old as if they had lost a dear child, the young as if they had lost a beloved parent. The farmer ceased from his plough and the pounding woman laid down her pestle. They all said: 'The sun and the moon have lost their brightness. Heaven and Earth have crumbled to ruin—henceforward in whom shall we put our trust?'"

He left behind him peace where he had found strife and anarchy, the light of civilization in the place of the darkness of semi-barbarism, the knowledge and practice of art and science where there had been none before, reverential observance of a religion which was destined to mould the character of his countrymen for more than a thousand years. He was a great and successful reformer, worthy to take a place in history no less distinguished than posterity may hereafter assign to the statesmen who have made the New Japan of the Emperor who is now on the throne.

CHAPTER V

NARA, HEIAN AND THE FUJIWARA

PRINCE MUMAYADO died in the year 621, and the Empress whom he had served so well followed him seven years afterwards. One event only need be noticed in the reign of her successor Jomei (628–641), a rebellion of the barbarians on the Northern Frontier, a common enough occurrence, only to be distinguished from many others by the part played in it by women, who gave one of the many illustrations of female courage and fortitude that are prominent through all the Japanese history.

The general who was appointed to suppress the rebellion was defeated and forced to intrench himself against the barbarians who vigorously besieged him. His soldiers defeated and dispirited, deserted and left almost alone, the general was on the point of following their example, and was actually climbing the stockade at night to make his own escape, when his wife interfered. She taunted him with the disgrace that he was about to bring on a family of soldiers; then she took his sword herself, gathered all the women in the camp around her, and made them all vigorously twang the bow-strings, so the barbarians thought there was still an army behind the defences, and did not press the attack. The General, whom his wife had restored not only by her example but with draughts of wine, took heart again, got some of his lurking soldiers together and turned defeat into victory. History unfortunately records only the name

of the husband, and leaves both name and parentage of the heroic wife unmentioned and unnoticed.

Jomei was succeeded by another Empress Kōgiyoku (642–645). Since the introduction of Buddhism the Soga family, the head of which had from the first given his wholehearted influence in favour of the new religion, and had suffered persecution for its sake, had, in keeping with its spread, steadily grown in power and dignity, and the chief Ministership of the Sovereign had become hereditary in the family. The Nakatomi, the descendants of Ama tsu Koyane, were still the hereditary High Priests of the old national religion, "the way of the Gods," and their conduct gave rise to the saying, "In Heaven there are not two suns, there cannot be two sovereigns on earth." Their pride grew apace with their dignity. They aspired to control the succession to the throne; they built mausoleums on a scale of Imperial grandeur for themselves, commanding forced labour for the purpose, styled their children Princes and Princesses, maintained an armed guard at their residences, which they called palaces, and were always attended by armed guards in their goings out. They hated the Soga both as the apostles of the rival religion and as powers who held the highest civil offices of the court. They readily took part, therefore, in a plot for the assassination of the two heads of the Soga house, father and son. The son was murdered in the Empress's presence. The father was then deserted by his guards, and taken and executed. Thenceforward the Nakatomi rose to civil as well as ecclesiastical dignity and power, and the foundations were laid of the control which they were fated to exercise over the destinies of the Empire for 400 years. The Empress Kōgiyoku abdicated in favour of her younger brother Kōtoku in 645. He reigned for nine years—a period of great administrative reform, and when he died, although he left sons, Kōgiyoku, though

now sixty-two years of age, again ascended the throne, on this occasion under the title of Saimei. She was the great-granddaughter of the Emperor Bidatsu, the Empress Consort of Jōmei, the sister of Kōtoku, the mother of her successor Tenchi, and twice reigned as Empress herself. No other lady in Japanese history had so long and close a connection with the throne. When abdicating in favour of her brother she at the same time nominated her son Prince Imperial (heir-apparent), and he held this rank, both through Kōtoku's and her own second reign, and therefore exercised considerable influence in the administration. All his influence, both when Prince Imperial and subsequently when on the throne as the Emperor Tenchi (668–671), was exercised in favour of the haughty Nakatomi family, whose first ancestor came down from Heaven with the grandson of the Sun Goddess. In virtue of the charge given by the Sun Goddess to their heavenly ancestor to attend upon the sacred mirror, the Nakatomi were the hereditary high priests of the Empire. The Emperor Tenchi was personally devoted to Kamatari, the head of the family, the twenty-first in the direct line of descent from their Heavenly Ancestor, both during his own and the three preceding reigns, and when he came to the throne and became himself the fount of honour, he conferred on Kamatari the office of Daijin the highest civil dignity in the state, and the surname of Fujiwara, Wisteria field, thus founding the great house of the Fujiwara, whose family crest is the Wisteria. The honour was well bestowed. The path to honour was in the early history of Japan too often cleared by assassination to attach any lasting stigma to one who had successfully used that means for his own aggrandisement, and Kamatari used his powers wisely and beneficently, lightening the taxation of the people, preventing the abuse of forced labour and instituting valued reforms in the

administration. His successors, for many generations, were worthy descendants of the founder of their family, and not only kept a firm grasp on the dignity which he won and transmitted to them, but amplified it far beyond what he in his wildest dreams of ambition ever contemplated. They added to it that of Kuambaku. The precise meaning of the word "Kuambaku" is "to be charged with and to represent," and the holder of the office of that name is the recognized medium of communication between the Sovereign and his subjects. The office became hereditary in the Fujiwara family, and as it included in its prerogatives the regency of the Empire during the minority of an Emperor, they gradually acquired an influence second only to that of the throne. At first this influence was used honestly as well as wisely, but as time went on, their lust and pride of power grew so extravagant that the throne became practically entirely subordinate to them as far as the exercise of all executive authority was concerned. The successive Emperors still remained the nominal heads of the State, the sole legal founts of honour and power, but under the influence of the Fujiwara they were reduced to nullities.

One of the results of the introduction of Chinese civilization was the practice of abdication which became widespread through the nation, and while in the early centuries it had its first observance and was most marked in the case of the throne, it subsequently became a national custom among all classes and ranks, from the throne and the greatest houses of the nobility down to the humblest shopkeepers, which continues in full force till the present day. Until the introduction of Chinese civilization, Emperors reigned in Japan till their deaths. The doctrine of Buddhism is that perfect peace and happiness can only be obtained in solitude and meditation, and the Buddhist devotees seek the opportunity for both in the

complete withdrawal from the cares and anxieties of life and family.

In the case of the throne, the teaching of the doctrine was first followed by the five Empresses of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, each one of whom gave up the throne in her lifetime to her successor and retired into private life, to spend her last days in religious meditation. The first Emperor to follow their example was Shōmu (724–749), who abdicated in favour of his daughter Kōken (749–759), but lived for seven years afterwards, all of which were devoted to the practice of the ceremonies of the Buddhist Church, and his example was followed in the succeeding century by no less than six out of the ten Emperors who reigned. At first, the abdications were entirely voluntary, and their real as well as their ostensible object was the attainment of leisure to be devoted to religion, but as time went on, there were sovereigns who wished to retain the power of the throne and at the same time to be free from its most oppressive claims and responsibilities; who, therefore, outwardly abdicated but continued to direct, from their supposed monastic or rural seclusion, the affairs of the State with as much energy and thoroughness as they had done when on the throne. The first instance of this was the Emperor Shirakawa (1073–1087), and a very striking instance of it in comparatively modern times was furnished by Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shōguns at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Emperors who took this course were known as Hō-Ō, or cloistered Emperors. The practice gradually grew to such an extent that there were several occasions in Japanese history in which two, and on one occasion at least, five Emperors as well as the Emperor on the throne were living at one and the same time.

At first the practice was entirely voluntary on the part of those who followed it, but it will be easily seen that

cases might arise in which an iron-willed minister of state who, as regent of the Empire, acquired a strong influence over a sovereign during his minority, could, when it suited his purpose, force the sovereign, however unwilling he might be, to abdicate after his arrival at manhood, before he had time to realize his own strength or prerogatives. Thus it was with the Fujiwara. First, their great services and merits gave them influence on the throne. Then they used this influence to further consolidate their power by marrying daughters of the family both to the Emperors and to the princes of the Imperial line, so that they acquired a strong family as well as an official connection with the throne, and had all the influence on its occupants that can be given by near relationship as well as by hereditary office and strong will. While the Emperors were young, they were easily moulded to the wishes of the chief of the Fujiwara of the time, and if when they arrived at manhood they gave the least sign of independently asserting their own prerogatives, they were promptly forced to abdicate, and the throne given to a boy, perhaps even a child, who would again implicitly submit to the dictation of the hereditary regent, who was also either the boy Emperor's grandfather or his uncle on the mother's side.

The annals of the Emperors show how frequently and unscrupulously the Fujiwara availed themselves of their power in this way. The Emperor Seiwa (859–877) began to reign at the age of ten, and abdicated at twenty-eight years of age. His successor Yōzei (877–885) began at ten years of age, and abdicated at eighteen, and the corresponding ages of subsequent Emperors were Reizei (968–970), eighteen and twenty; Enyū (970–985), twelve and twenty-six; Kwazan (985–987), seventeen and nineteen; Toba (1108–1124), six and twenty-two. With Emperors such as these boys, the Fujiwara had no difficulty in arrogating to themselves all the real power

of the state, and they used their power entirely for the advancement of their own family. No one could hope for any office in the state, for either honour or titles, who was not of the Fujiwara blood, and gradually the whole of the national executive was converted into a Fujiwara preserve. The head of the family, always either regent or first minister, at the same time extended his own prerogatives. Every subject, according to the unwritten constitution of old Japan, had the right of appealing direct to the Emperor, and so much was this recognized that a box was placed outside the palace gate for the reception of petitions. The Fujiwara assumed the right of opening all, and of either rejecting them at once or submitting them to the Emperors as they pleased. None, whether high or low, could approach the Emperor except through them. They became a barrier between the Emperor and his people over which neither could pass, and the Emperors, bereft of all real power, were reduced to mere fainéants, voluptuaries or dilettanti, who passed all their time among the women of the court or in the cultivation of art or literature, in any way except in the vigorous and active discharge of their duties as rulers of their Empire. They were lost to their people, and though surrounded with all the outward marks of honour and dignity, they became mere prisoners in their palaces, only names to be whispered with the same reverence as were those of the Gods of Heaven. The Fujiwara, in the seventh and eighth centuries, were the first usurpers of the Imperial prerogatives, and the precedent which they founded continued to be followed without one real break until the accession of the present Emperor to the throne in 1867.

In the beginning of the eighth century, in the reign of the Empress Gemmyō (708–715), the Imperial palace at last found a permanent site, and Nara became the capital of the Empire. Its choice shows that, in those

days, the Japanese had as fervent an admiration of the beauties of nature as their descendants of the present century. Few places in the world are marked by greater charms of nature. The old town, now not a tenth of its former size, lies at the base of a range of hills which rise gently from a richly cultivated plain, amidst groves of cherry and plum trees, that in spring-time glow with a mass of delicately tinted blossoms, of gigantic cryptomeria, oaks and venerable pines. The thick foliage of the groves is pleasantly broken by the roofs of the temples and pagodas that owe their foundation to the piety of the sovereigns who reigned at Nara. These were seven in all, three of whom were Empresses. It was the period when the new religion was in the full tide of its prosperity and influence, when its doctrines found no more faithful believers, no more devout followers amidst its myriads of disciples throughout the world than in the Imperial Court of Japan. Every Emperor, still more every Empress, gave all his or her best influence to its encouragement and to its support, and sought no greater or higher glory than that of promoting it among their people, of doing honour to it by the erection of splendid temples in their own capital. Nara lies outside the direct route from Osaka and Kioto to Yedo. It escaped, therefore, much of the destruction and misery which so often fell on other cities through all the long civil wars of the middle ages, and it preserves to this day many of the features that marked it in what is called the Nara period of history, which embraces nearly the whole of the eighth century. Some of the temples that were then erected still survive. All that was best in the Empire in art, literature, architecture were gathered there. All their votaries did their best to please their devout sovereigns, and for the first part of the period there were no wars to break the calm of lives consecrated to religion.

Of the sovereigns of the Nara period we need only specifically mention one, the Emperor Shōmu (724–749), and him only on account of the vicarious celebrity which he enjoys in history through his wife, one of the historic women of Japan, renowned equally for her dazzling beauty, which procured her the name of Kōmiyō—Splendour—for her wit, intelligence and strong character, and for her piety. When she stood erect her hair not only reached, but lay on the ground. No church ever had a more devoted believer and patron than she showed herself through all her married life. Monasteries and convents were established throughout all the land either by her or by her husband at her instigation, and he, under her sweet influence, was hardly less pious than herself. A poetess herself, she is worthily honoured as one of the greatest patrons of poets at a period which is still deservedly known as the Golden Age of Japanese poetry. There is only one cloud on her memory, and that is a delicate one. Her husband attempted towards the end of his reign to free himself from the yoke of the Fujiwara, and called into his lay councils a monk named Dokio, his spiritual adviser, still more the spiritual adviser of the Empress. The pious monk is said to have broken his vows for the sake of the witty and lovely Empress, and, as other great ladies have done in other climes and in all ages, the Empress yielded to the love of the priest. The combined influence of both on the Emperor was not fortunate either for himself or for the Empire. The Fujiwara could not be ousted from their power, and the Emperor, reduced to his old thraldom, was punished by being compelled to abdicate in favour of his daughter Kōken (749–758). An armed rising in his favour was attempted by others of the nobility jealous of the Fujiwara, and the peace and calm of Nara was broken by civil war, which after some vicissitudes of fortune, served in the end only to rivet still more firmly than

they had been before the fetters of the Fujiwara on the throne.

In 794, in the reign of the Emperor Kwammu (782–806), the capital was removed from Nara to Kioto, where it remained till 1868. The Empress was, as usual, one of the Fujiwara, and the move was made at their inspiration. A castle was erected which was called Heian-jo —the castle of peace—and in the first four centuries of its existence the new capital was known as the city of Heian, the city of peace. These centuries are also called the Heian Period of history, which lasted from the founding of the capital till 1192, when the first Shōgunate of the Minamoto family was firmly established in power at Kamakura. Then the name of Heian was lost, and the Imperial town came to be known simply as Kioto—the capital.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE TAIRA

TIME in its course avenged the fate which the Fujiwara, in their selfish greed for power, imposed on their Emperors. Secure in their influence and great offices at the capital, they gradually permitted themselves to lapse into sloth and self-indulgence, and became degenerate representatives of the strong and masterful men who, in the earlier centuries of their domination, had been at the head of their house, letting luxury and effeminacy take the place of the energy and virility that first placed the Government of the Empire in their hands.

One of the results of the introduction of Buddhism and the wholesale adoption of Chinese institutions which followed it was the division of the executive Government, on the Chinese system, into civil and military departments, the creation of a special class of generals who devoted themselves solely to military affairs, and finally, the permanent demarcation of the civil and military classes of the people. As far as to the seventh century of the Christian era all the freeborn people, without distinction of class, were soldiers, expected and obliged to follow their Emperor or his generals when their services were required for the subjugation of the barbarians on the frontiers or of rebels amongst their own kin, or for the military expeditions against one or other of the three kingdoms of Korea, which were not infrequent through a period of 400 years. As a rule

the Emperor himself took the chief command, but if he did not, it was given to an Imperial Prince and never to an ordinary subject. As the population increased, it became no longer necessary that all the people should answer every call to arms, and on the other hand, as civilization grew, a greater number was required to minister to the general wants of the nation, the Court, army and people, and to devote themselves exclusively to productive labour. The soldiers were therefore only chosen from the boldest, strongest and most active of the population, who showed the greatest proficiency in horsemanship or archery. They were sent forth to do battle under a Shōgun or a general, and as expeditions became more distant and demanded greater time for their accomplishment, they became more absorbed in their military duties, and finally their character of citizens was entirely merged in that of professional soldiers. The less spirited, the physically weak and unskilled in arms, remained to till the soil or work at the increasingly varied industries. Less and less demand was made on them for military service, so that they gradually lost all their old character of soldiers, and a complete division was formed between the military and the agricultural and industrial classes. The enthusiasm of war, always natural to professional soldiers, and the hope of plunder operated to keep the military class away from the capital and induced them to attach themselves to the boldest and most capable leaders who permanently settled themselves on the lands on which they had fought and from which they had driven either rebels or the original barbarian owners. They became and called themselves soldiers, and in time began to regard with contemptuous indifference the authority of the weak civil Government of the Emperor at Kioto, while, on the other hand, the courtiers looked down upon them with supercilious pride as rough and uncouth

provincials whose sole trade was fighting. In this way the foundations came to be laid of the permanent social classification of the entire Japanese people, which lasted in its entirety till the Restoration in 1868, and in a modified form, retaining to a great degree its original spirit, has lasted until the present day.

At the capital were the Emperor and his court; the Emperor, however bereft of actual power, always the sole source of all authority and the fountain of honour, to whom every Shōgun owed his appointment, whose sanction alone legalized every act done by the Shōgun. Around the Emperor were his courtiers, the Kuge, all of whom claimed descent from one of the Emperor's predecessors or, as in the case of the Fujiwara, direct from their own heavenly ancestor, and therefore shared in some degree the prestige of the Emperor's divine descent. They were always the very cream of the *haute noblesse*, and though sunk in poverty, as they became in later days, when the Emperor was only a name to his people, they always preserved the caste which rendered them the immeasurable superiors of the wealthy and powerful Daimio, the territorial nobles of the period of feudalism. The Shōgun and the forerunners of the Daimio were at first Kuge, of the same blood as the Courtiers, who sought their sphere in military life, but, in process of time, in the disorganization of the long civil wars of the middle ages, when might became right, when only the sword won and only the sword could keep, many self-made adventurers found their way among them and acquired the possession of fiefs of greater or less extent which gave them the rank of Daimios. The soldiers became the Samurai, the feudal retainers of the Daimio, who long monopolized the right of wearing and using arms, and the rest of the population sank to the position of ministers to the needs of those above them, to one or other of the three classes

of peasants, artisans and traders. The drain of continuous war in the middle ages gave many of these three classes chances of filling vacancies among the Samurai, but from the time when internal peace was firmly established under the Tokugawas, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and there was no more depletion of the ranks of the Samurai by war, that avenue of advancement was closed and they became little better than serfs *vis-à-vis* the nobles and the Samurai.

The original unit of Society in ancient Japan was the Uji, the family composed of persons bearing the same name and all recognizing the supreme authority of one head of the whole family or house. In the very earliest days, when the population was still scanty, the Uji were naturally few in number and limited to such families as the Nakatomi and the Soga; but, as the descendants of these families grew, the numbers in each Uji became too large and cumbersome to admit among them all that might rightfully claim membership, either as descendants of the first chief of the family or as sprung from Emperors who reigned subsequently to its formation. New families were therefore founded—or rather their foundation was permitted by the Emperor from time to time. In this way the Minamoto, Taira and Tachibana families came into existence, all of the very highest rank among the Court nobility, though less illustrious than the Fujiwara. When members of these families led military expeditions to the disturbed quarters of the Empire and followed their success in tranquillizing or exterminating the inhabitants by permanently establishing themselves on the conquered land, they took new names from the locality in which each found himself. In this way the great territorial families were for the first time established under territorial titles, such as Hōjō, Ashikaga, Tokugawa, etc., to quote only such as became most prominent in subsequent history. Each

local leader maintained around him the soldiers by whose arms he had won the land, and they, increasing steadily in numbers, united with him to form the local Uji which came to be known as the Han or Clan, and with their chief were considered to form one united family, bound not only by the ties of interest and safety, but by the fiction that all had a common origin with their chief. They became hereditary soldiers, whose sole trade was fighting, who scorned all other pursuits.

As they grew in numbers and strength, and as their domains became more distant from the seat of the capital, the authority over them of the central Government perceptibly weakened, and, in time, every Han became a law unto itself, a petty kingdom, independent in everything except the loyalty which it owed to the Emperor. The executive had, however, fallen from the hands of the Emperor into those of the Fujiwara. So long as the Fujiwara were active, vigorous and masterful, so long as they preserved the characteristics of the great founder of the house, they were able to exercise the authority of the central Government on the outlying Han. But, as coincidently with the growth of the Han, the Fujiwara at the capital became weak and indolent and, yielding to the seductions of Court luxury, passed their days in sensuous pleasure to the neglect of all the executive functions which they had assumed, the time naturally came when the great chiefs refused to brook even nominally the authority of the Court voluptuaries, and took the affairs of state into their own hands with a powerful backing of the best fighting men of the Empire enthusiastically devoted to them. They founded the dual system of government, based on feudalism, which reached its highest summit of perfeotion under the Tokugawa Shōguns in the seventeenth century and lasted until 1868, when it met

its doom after seven hundred years existence, on the downfall of the last of the Tokugawas and the accession of the present Emperor to the throne.

The Fujiwara, even before they started on their downward path, confined themselves mainly to civil offices. Every active office in and about the Court, every civil post in the executive was exclusively filled with members of their own family, and to those who were outside the pale of that family, the only avenue of distinction that was open was that of military service. Two families, both of which traced their origin to the Imperial line, eagerly seized upon the chance which the conditions of the times gave them. These families were the Minamoto and the Taira, and their history is, for a hundred years, the history of Japan.

The Emperor Kwammu (782–806), the fiftieth of the line, had, by one of his concubines, a son, Prince Katsurawara, who attained high distinction as a scholar at the Court, and the grandson of this prince, Takamochi, was appointed military governor of the Province of Kadzusa and the family name of Taira conferred on him by the Emperor. The history of the family had so far been full of honour, a record of distinguished service to the Emperor; but Masakado, the grandson of the founder of the Taira, was destined to earn an unenviable notoriety in history as a rebel, the only personage in all the long history of Japan who dared to raise sacrilegious eyes to the throne. Angry at the refusal of the Fujiwara to confer on him a high office at the Court, he withdrew to his own military district in the Eastern provinces, and, being a brave and capable soldier, he soon brought all the Eastern provinces under his own sway. Then, establishing himself at Sarugashima in Shimosa, he founded a mimic Court with a complete establishment of civil and military officials. Once in his youth he had looked down on Kioto from

the summit of Mount Hiyei and seen how splendid it was, and now, remembering it in the days of his success, he thought that even the throne was not outside the scope of his ambition. A disaffected member of the Fujiwara joined him, to whom he confided what was in his heart, saying, "I am of the Imperial family; Heaven has made me a warrior, I shall become the 'Son of Heaven,' and you, a Fujiwara, shall be Kuambaku." Then both took the field in revolt against the throne. But vigorous measures were quickly taken, and Makasado was surprised and defeated by an army under his own cousin, another Taira. Followed by four hundred horsemen, all that remained to him of his great army, he fled to the mountains. There he was again attacked, and, though he fought with desperation and performed prodigies of valour, himself slaying scores of his assailants, he was again beaten, his horsemen dispersed, and as he fled alone he was brought down by an arrow fired by his cousin's own hand.

The disloyalty of one member of the family was condoned by the services of another, and as the succeeding generations continued both to display capacity and to render the best military service, there was no falling away of their strength and influence. Makasado's rebellion took place in the year 940, and five generations later, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the head of the house was Tadamori, whose services made him a favourite with two Emperors, Shirakawa (1073–1086), and Toba (1108–1124), and procured for him advancement at the Court which aroused the jealousy of the courtiers so that they plotted to murder him. They resolved to take advantage of his attendance at the banquet given by the Emperor to celebrate the feast of Shinjoye (harvest festival); but Tadamori, knowing what was in their hearts, came with his sword and attended by two retainers. The courtiers, seeing his

sword and knowing his prowess, were afraid, but thought to destroy him by accusing him to the Emperor of coming to the interior of the palace armed. When taxed with this grave offence Tadamori calmly produced the sword, the sight of which had made the courtiers pause, and it was found to be of wood, silver gilt. So, while they dared not attempt to slay him, their accusation was turned into ridicule. Once he accompanied the Emperor on a midnight ramble to the home, away from the palace, of a lady favoured by the Emperor. It was a night of black darkness and heavy rain, and the pair were startled by what seemed to be the apparition of a devil, with hair erect like needles, that alternately appeared and vanished before them in the street. Tadamori boldly grasped the supposed apparition, which proved to be a priest, with a hat of wheat-straw, carrying a torch, which he blew into flames each time that it was quenched by the rain. One of the palace attendants was another favoured lady of the Emperor. Tadamori's loyalty and devotion did not prevent him secretly sharing with his Imperial master the good graces of the lady, and his intrigue was discovered. The Emperor forgave him, gave him the lady in marriage, and said, "If the child is a girl I will adopt it; if it is a boy it shall be Tadamori's son." A son was born in 1118, to whom the name of Kiyomori was given, who in due time became the head of the Taira and one of the greatest figures in Japanese history.

The Minamoto, the second of the two military families mentioned above, were of later origin than the Taira. The Emperor Seiwa (859–877) had three sons, one of whom became Minister of War, and his son was licensed to found a new family under the name of Minamoto. The Taira had adopted a red banner and the Minamoto chose a white one. From father to son for generations all were active and daring soldiers. In the

fourth generation one of them, in order that he might be better able to guard the Son of Heaven, commissioned a famous swordsmith to forge two swords for him. For fifty days the smith worked, and then he produced two swords of superlative quality. Both were tried by their owner on criminals. One cut through both neck and beard of the criminal at one stroke, and was therefore called Hige Kiri, or beard cutter. The other cut through the neck and knee, as the criminal knelt on the ground with head outstretched and knee forward, and was therefore called Hiza Kiri, or knee cutter, and both these swords became heirlooms in the family.

The fourth in descent from the founder was Yoriyoshi, who won renown as a soldier both in the Kuantō and in the far northern Province of Mutsu. Once he dreamt that the God Hachiman had given him a sword. Simultaneously his son Yoshiiye was born, who, proving as valiant and capable a soldier as his father, received from his father's dream and his own exploits the name of Hachiman Tarō, or eldest son of Hachiman. At the end of a long and arduous campaign in Mutsu, which lasted for many years, the enemy took refuge in a stockaded camp in the middle of a marsh. There were deep ditches all round it and swords were planted in them so as to make the crossing more difficult. Yoriyoshi pulled down the houses of all the people around, filled the ditches with their fragments and then stormed the stockades. The enemy's leader, who was of enormous stature, measuring seven feet round the loins, came out and fought alone, and was taken and brought wounded to Yoriyoshi. Yoriyoshi cut off his head and those of his two sons with a blunt sword and sent them to the capital to be laid before the Emperor. Within the stockades he found scores of beautiful women, who had been stolen by the rebels,

and these he divided among his own officers. Both father and son became very popular in the Eastern provinces, where the calling of arms was highly honoured, and by their dignity and beneficence won all hearts so that the foundations were laid of the popularity of the Minamoto throughout the eight provinces, which enabled them, in a later generation, to make themselves masters of the Empire. Yoshiiye's grandson was Yoshitomo, the eldest of twenty-three sons of his father. The eighth son was Tametomo, who was of enormous strength, with arms long like those of an ape so that he could bend a bow and discharge an arrow that were far beyond the capacity of any ordinary men. He was so violent in his youth that he was sent on service to Kiushiu where, at the age of fifteen, his conduct made him the terror of all the local governors, none of whom could control him. A Court intrigue gave Yoshitomo a brief influence. In 1156 there were three Emperors living, one, Konoye (1142–1156), on the throne and two in retirement, Toba (1108–1124), the cloistered Emperor, the father of Konoye, and Sutoku (1124–1142), Konoye's immediate predecessor. Konoye died in this year, and Sutoku, who abdicated fourteen years before, was desirous to reassume the throne; but Toba, at the instigation of his favourite concubine, Tokuko, placed on it the Emperor Go Shirakawa, her son and the brother of Konoye. Shortly afterwards Toba died, and Sutoku then determined, at the instigation of the Fujiwara, to take the throne by force of arms, and to that end called the Minamoto family to his help. Toba, on his deathbed, had given his beloved concubine a box to be opened only in the case of trouble. Her and his son's throne was now threatened, so she opened the box and found in it a list of military commanders who might be trusted, and Yoshitomo's name was at their head. She called him and Kiyomori, the head of the

Taira, the two greatest warriors of the age, to her aid, and both espoused her cause and took up arms in defence of the young Emperor. On the other side, the side of the ex-Emperor, the leaders were Yoshitomo's father and brothers, foremost among them being the great archer Tametomo. In the battle that took place, the latter were hopelessly defeated. Both father and brothers were taken prisoners and all were ruthlessly put to death by Yoshitomo. His four youngest brothers were still boys, almost children, too young to have taken part in the plot or in the fight, but their youth did not save them. Their implacable brother ordered that all should be executed. The boys, except the eldest, asked for mercy, saying that they had done no wrong. The eldest rebuked them, told them that "he who had killed his father would not spare his younger brethren. He has fallen into the snares of Kiyomori and is wounding himself. Let us die at once and follow our father." So all placed their heads in a row and "received the sword." Only Tametomo escaped. He endeavoured to make his way to Kiushiu, but, once when he was taking a bath, his enormous bulk attracted the attention of those who saw him, and they told the authorities of their suspicions. Officers were at once sent to take him, and Tametomo, naked as he was, sprang out of his bath and seized a pole and killed several of the officers before he was taken. Then he was bound and, though his life was spared, the sinews of his arm were cut so that he could no longer draw a bow, and he was banished to the Island of Oshima. Here some of his old henchmen followed him. He gathered a band of fighting men about him and, from being a prisoner, made himself master of the Island. The story of what he was doing was brought to the capital, and officers were sent to the Island to take him again. His arm had now recovered its strength and

he was again the strong and skilful archer of his youth. With one arrow he shot from the beach he sank the boat that was bringing the officers to arrest him. He is said to have escaped after this exploit to the Liu Kiu Islands, where he founded the royal family which afterwards ruled over the Islands as kings.

Yoshitomo had borne the brunt of the fight which secured Go Shirakawa on his throne, and for his sake had fought with and slain his own father and brethren, but the greatest rewards were given to Kiyomori, the head of the Taira, and it was not long before a quarrel broke out between the two, and the quarrel was soon followed by hostilities. Shirakawa only held the throne for three years, when he abdicated in favour of Nijō (1159–1165), but he continued himself to direct the administration. Both Emperor and ex-Emperor took refuge with Kiyomori on the renewal of hostilities, and their presence in his camp gave him and his followers the prestige of the Imperial and loyal army and made Yoshitomo, who was in arms against it, a rebel. His followers began to desert him, and, when the fight came, he was largely outnumbered. All day long, from early dawn, his men fought continuously till their swords were broken and their arrows exhausted. Meanwhile, his foes had been fighting in detachments, constantly bringing fresh men to make new attacks on the weary and worn. At last all was over. Yoshitomo wished to die fighting on the field, but a faithful retainer, Masaiye, prevented him, telling him it was better to fly to the Eastern provinces and await a better day than to meet death at the hands of a common soldier. He escaped from the field with thirty horsemen, but safety was far away. The priests of Mount Hiyei tried to stop him with three hundred men. One of the horsemen rode to them and said, "We are only disbanded soldiers. If you want our armour you are welcome to

't, but we have not enough for all of you. Take this
ıs an earnest." Then he threw his helmet among them,
ınd while the priests scrambled for it the whole party
ɔut their horses to the gallop and rode through them.
Further on priests again tried to stop them, and in the
ɜtruggle Yoshitaka, Yoshitomo's grand-uncle, now an
ɔld man, the last surviving son of Hachiman Tarō, was
killed, and Tomonaga, his son, was shot by an arrow
through the thigh. The youth pulled out the arrow
himself and fought on. Later on the wound festered,
and he could not continue the fight. He prayed his
father to kill him rather than leave him to fall into the
enemy's hands, and Yoshitomo killed him with his own
sword. A band of peasants surrounded him and at-
tempted to take him. One of his followers killed ten
of them, and then, saying, "I am Yoshitomo," slashed
and disfigured his own features so that the face could
not be recognized and killed himself. The peasants,
thinking they had Yoshitomo's head, were not eager to
come to grips again with the rest of the little band, now
reduced to half-a-dozen in number, and allowed it to
escape. At last he reached Utsumi, a port on the bay
of Owari, where he found refuge in the house of Tada-
mune, the father-in-law of Masaiye, the faithful vassal
who still followed him. Konno, another equally faith-
ful, was also still with him. Tadamune resolved to
murder Yoshitomo, and, for this purpose, hid three
stout swordsmen in the bath-room. But they could do
nothing as Konno accompanied his lord to the bath and
ɜtood by him with his sword. Unfortunately the bath
ɣown had been forgotten and, as no one answered to
:he call, Konno left his post to get it himself. Then
:he three swordsmen did their work on the naked and
ınarmed man. Konno, hearing the noise, rushed back,
ɔut only in time to avenge his master by killing all three
ɜwordsmen. Masaiye was at the moment drinking with

his father-in-law and host in another part of the house, and, as he rose, on hearing the disturbance, was cut down from behind and killed. The heads of both lord and vassal were sent to Kiyomori. Masaiye's wife, horrified at her father's treachery, killed herself with her dead husband's sword. This was in the year 1160.

Long before this happened Kiyomori had become the head of the Taira. The son of a brave and successful soldier, he gave from his earliest years ample evidence that he would equal if not surpass his father's greatest exploits. While still a mere youth he was, at his own desire, sent on service against pirates who swarmed on the west coast, and in his operations against them displayed not only dauntless courage, but military capacity of a high degree. Afterwards he steadily ascended in Court favour and rank, while his reputation as a successful and ambitious soldier attracted so many followers to the red banner of the Taira that he became the most powerful territorial noble of the Empire. The Court intrigue of 1156 gave him his great opportunity. Yoshitomo's name was first on the list of generals contained in the box given by the dying Emperor Toba to his concubine, the mother of the child whom he had nominated as his successor on the throne, and Kiyomori's name was not on the list at all, but Kiyomori's strength and character soon gave him the lead, and the story has just been told of his ultimate quarrel with and triumph over Yoshitomo. Yoshitomo's death left Kiyomori the undisputed master of the Empire. The Emperor was in his hands to give legality to all his acts, no matter how violent or tyrannical, and could be moulded at his will. No subject in Japan's history had previously reached such a pinnacle of authority with irresistible military force to back it. Kiyomori was as cruel and relentless as he was ambitious. For three centuries the Minamoto and Taira had been friends, bound by the ties of their common service as

soldiers of the Empire and as enemies of the dominant Fujiwara. The memory of the days when they had fought side by side might well have softened Kiyomori's heart, hard though it was, in favour of the Minamoto in their hour of darkness after Yoshitomo's death, when they were left without competent leaders and were scattered in flight throughout the East. But he had determined to leave no possible enemies to his own family, none who could interfere with the grandeur which he proposed to ensure to them in the future, and a war of extermination was decreed against all the Minamoto.

Three sons accompanied Yoshitomo in the flight from his last battle. The fate of one has been told. The eldest, Yoshihira, and the third Yoritomo, the first twenty and the last thirteen years of age, survived their father. Yoshihira was at Kamakura in the East when he heard of his father's quarrel at Kioto with the Taira. He galloped night and day the whole intervening distance—nearly three hundred miles—to join him, and in the fight he showed himself a valiant soldier, leading a charge right into the lines of the Taira army. Once, during the flight after the battle, Yoritomo in weariness fell asleep on his horse and lagged behind the rest of the little band. Some peasants, seeing only a boy alone and asleep, attempted to capture him, but he woke at once, cut down two of them with the sword "Beard-cutter," which his father had given him, and succeeded in rejoining his father. Both sons, afterwards, for better chances of escape from the Taira who were seeking for them and to secure that all of the Minamoto might not perish at one blow, by the father's orders, separated from the party. Their adventures after their father's death were full of romance.

At first the eldest hid among remote hills, and there, deserted and left alone, thought to take the usual refuge of a Japanese warrior in an honourable death at his

own hand. But he remembered it was his duty to avenge his father's murder. So he made his way in disguise to Kioto where the triumphant Taira were all popular. There he found an old Minamoto retainer, and, in the character of his servant, lodged with him in an inn. The landlord saw that he was no ordinary person, and spying upon them, discovered that the apparent master and servant changed places when they took their meals. Information was quickly given to the Taira officers, and the house was surrounded by three hundred men; but Yoshihira, after cutting down ten of the officers who attempted to stop him, escaped by the roof. Then he tried to make his way once more to the Eastern provinces, remote from the capital, where he would have found sympathy and shelter, but, as he crossed the Auzaka, a steep mountain pass on the road from Kioto to the town of Otsu at the end of Lake Biwa, he lay down to rest by the wayside and, in his weariness, fell asleep. As he slept the very same officer, who had failed in his attempt to arrest him at Kioto, happened to pass by at the head of a troop of fifty horsemen. He recognized the sleeping youth at once, and, seizing him as he slept, bound him and brought him a prisoner to Kioto. Arrived there, he was told to stand at the gate of the palace, but, indignant at this affront to one of his blood, he forced his way into the interior and boldly confronted Kiyomori, and on the tyrant taunting him with having been taken by fifty men after having escaped from three hundred, he laughingly answered, "It was just my luck. When your luck fails you, you will also come to an end like this." Then he was straightway led forth and decapitated on the dry bed of the River Kamo, a spot which, in its associations, resembles Tower Hill. Many of the most noted characters in Japanese history, whose lives have closed with failure, have there taken their last look on earth.

Yoshihira was twenty years of age when he died. His brother, Yoritomo, was then only thirteen. After his father's death he also became a wandering fugitive, seeking shelter and support wherever they could be found. A poor fisherman disguised him as a girl and, hiding his famous sword, "Beard-cutter," in a piece of matting, tried to carry him on his own back to a place of safety. But a Taira commander, Munekiyo, found him and took him prisoner and brought him to Kioto. There a day was at once fixed on which he was to pay the last penalty on the Kamo. But his captor, Munekiyo, had in turn been captured by the boy's beauty and spirit. He went to Kiyomori's step-mother, Iki no Ama, the nun Iki, who had shaved her head and sought peace from the affairs of the world in the retirement of a Buddhist convent, and told her that Yoritomo resembled her own son, Uma, who had died in youth. Her pity was aroused. She besought Kiyomori's mercy with tears and repeated supplications, and he at last yielded and spared the boy's life, but exiled him to the distant province of Idzu. Some of those who stood round him when the sentence was pronounced, advised him to ensure his continued safety by shaving his head and so manifesting that he had done with worldly affairs; but another, a retainer of his own family, whispered in his ear, "Wait and see." The youth nodded in answer, and as he left, holding his head high and fearlessly looking in the face of the Taira courtiers who were grouped around, some of them struck by his spirit, who had heard of what he, a boy, had done in action and during his father's flight, said that, in sparing his life, their lord was "letting a tiger loose in the fields."

All the Prince Charlie-like romances of the two young nobles, of scores of their principal retainers who were eluding the vigilance of the Taira emissaries all over the country and awaiting in poverty and obscurity the dawn of the day of retribution, yield in pathos, in the

fascination which they continue to the present day to exercise over Japanese painters and romanticists, in their power of drawing tears to the eyes of gentle maidens, who are now, it may be, studying European science and philosophy in the high schools and colleges of Tokio, to the story of Tokiwa, the peasant girl of humble birth, whose marvellous beauty had raised her to the proud position of Yoshitomo's mistress, a position in Japan of those days only one degree less honourable than that of legal wife. She had borne three sons to her lover, and, when the lover was killed, she fled with her three children on a dark winter's night, when the ground was thick with snow, and sought shelter in a lonely wood. Her two eldest boys clung to her skirts, one on each side; her youngest was still an infant in arms. No scene in all Japanese history has been more represented by painters of every degree of skill or reputation than that of the lovely mother and her three numbed and wearied children, all wondering at the sudden change from the luxury of a palace to homelessness and hunger, struggling through the falling snow in the gloom of the dark forest. Death appeared to be inevitable for all, but fortune was not wholly unkind to them. A soldier of the Minamoto, a fugitive like themselves, found them, brought them safely to a secluded village, and there sheltered them. There they might have awaited better fortune, but the Taira were determined to secure, if not extirpate, the whole Yoshitomo brood. They sought in vain for Tokiwa and her children; but they found her mother and publicly proclaimed that, if the daughter did not surrender, the mother must die. Tidings of this came slowly to the lonely mountain village where the daughter thought she had found a safe shelter, but they came and placed before the distracted mother a cruel alternative, to sacrifice her children, the sons of her great lover, or her own mother. Filial piety is the basic element of all Japanese morality. For father

or mother, son or daughter must always be ready for sacrifice at any moment, in any form. For them a son must sacrifice his life, a daughter life or what is dearer than life, and Tokiwa's struggle, if bitter, was short. She returned to Kioto with her children and gave herself and them into the hands of the Taira officers.

Like other men who have played a great part on the stage of the world's history, Kiyomori was susceptible to female beauty, and, when Tokiwa was brought before him, all his strongest passions were stirred by her irresistible charms. He at first tried to win her in secrecy, but failed. More open wooing was equally fruitless. Tokiwa was faithful to the memory of her murdered lord. Threats succeeded where persuasion was in vain, and when her mother, with floods of tears, showed her the "misery of refusal and the happiness which yielding would ensure to all," Tokiwa at last gave way and, becoming Kiyomori's mistress, purchased the lives of her mother and children. Her influence over the tyrant lasted for ten years, and then, when released by him, she married another man, and nothing is told of the rest of her life. The lives of her children were spared, but the well-being of the Taira demanded that they should be brought up in such a way as to make them powerless for ill in the future. The three were sent to monasteries to be reared and trained as members of a priesthood vowed to celibacy.

Kiyomori's triumph was now complete and his position as head of the state seemed assured. The Emperor was in his power, and was soon made to feel it. The nomination to the great office of Dai jō Dai jin, First Minister of State, was extorted in Kiyomori's own favour from him, and all the chief offices, civil and military, metropolitan or provincial, were conferred on relations or adherents of the Taira, and everywhere confiscated domains throughout the kingdom were given to

them so that their lands spread over more than thirty provinces. All that had been done by the Fujiwara in the days of their most unquestionable dominance was now done or excelled by Kiyomori, who, like them, crowned and deposed Emperors as he pleased. The ex-Emperor Sutoku and his son, the cause of the first quarrel between the Minamoto and the Taira, shared in the fate of their defeated champions, and were promptly banished to a distant and uncivilized province with such contumely and indifference that Sutoku is said to have died in his banishment of starvation. Go-Shirakawa, for whom Kiyomori had fought in the disputed succession, was made to abdicate the moment he showed a semblance of mild resistance to his minister's will. The throne was then given in succession to three boys of seventeen, two, and twelve years of age at their accession, the first two of whom were only allowed to reign for a few years in order to make way for the third, Taka-kura (1169–1180), whose mother, a concubine of the Emperor Go-Shirakawa, was an elder sister of Kiyomori's own wife. To this Emperor Kiyomori gave his daughter in marriage, first making her Niogo, or principal concubine, and then advancing her to the dignity of Chiugu, or second wife, again following the precedent of the Fujiwara, who, when at the height of their power, forced all the Emperors to take wives from among the daughters of their house. When a son was born to this marriage the father was deposed, and the child, though still an infant, crowned as the Emperor Antoku (1180–1185). Kiyomori's ambition had thus carried him to its highest flight. He was the grandparent of the Emperor, who was the Son of Heaven and the direct descendant of the Gods. His pride and ostentation were unbounded. Imperial honours were rendered to him and a large escort accompanied him wherever he went, like the Imperial family. When he visited the Emperor he passed through the palace gates without descending

from his car; he entered the presence still wearing a sword, a boldness on which none other had ever presumed before. He built a palace at Fukuwara where the great port of Kobe now stands, and transferred the Emperor to it so that it became the capital of the Empire. But his last years were not happy. His eldest son, who to all his father's courage and capacity added all the true nobility of mind in which the father was lacking, who was chivalrous and merciful to beaten foes, died before him. He had been torn between conflicting duties, honour to the Emperor and obedience to his father, and, in his agony, he had prayed for death and his prayers were answered. The second son gave no promise that he would be able to take his father's place. The Fujiwara, sick of his tyranny, indignant at their subjection to one who was their inferior in descent, were secretly conspiring against him at the Emperor's Court. Yoritomo, now grown to manhood, was already raising the Minamoto standard and was gathering a formidable army in the distant Kuantō.[1] Too late Kiyomori realized how true it was that he had let loose a tiger in the fields. He died in 1181 at the age of sixty-four, and his last words on his death-bed were—

"He that is born must necessarily die. Why should I alone expect to escape? My rank has been the highest to which a subject can attain, and I stand in the relation of grandfather to the Emperor by his mother's side. What should I have to complain of? What I complain of is that I must die without seeing the head of Minamoto no Yoritomo. After I die do not perform Buddhist rites for me; do not read the liturgies for me; but simply cut off Minamoto no Yoritomo's head, and hang it up before my tomb. Let all my offspring and retainers obey my words, and not dare to neglect them."

[1] For Kuantō, see Appendix III.

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CHAPTER VII

YORITOMO AND THE GEM-PEI WAR

WHEN Yoritomo's life was spared and he was banished to Idzu, the Hōjō, a family of territorial nobility whose domains lay in Idzu, were made responsible for his safe custody. The family were of Taira descent, the founder having been the son of Kiyomori's predecessor in the seventh degree in the headship of the Taira. Their faith could, therefore, it was assumed, be trusted. The head of the house at this time was Hōjō Tokimasa. He had two daughters, the eldest of whom was reported beautiful, the younger the reverse. Yoritomo wished to marry one of them, and thought he should best conciliate the father's sympathy in his own interests if he chose the younger and plainer. So he sent her a letter by his servant. Now the girl had, on the previous night, a dream in which a pigeon came to her carrying a golden egg. She awoke and told her sister of it, and the sister then said: "I will buy my younger sister's dream." So she gave her younger sister her toilet mirror, saying: "It is little, that with which I pay the price." Next morning she received the letter, and in the end formed a connection with the sender.

The elder sister's name was Masago. She was at this time twenty-one years of age, and was promised in marriage to the Taira governor of Idzu. Her father, Tokimasa, discovered her relations with Yoritomo, and was both pleased and frightened. He had formed a

high opinion of Yoritomo's abilities, and foresaw the possibilities of a great future for him. But he was bound by his promise to the governor, and dreaded the consequences of offending the powerful Taira by forming a relationship with the outlawed scion of the Minamoto. So he insisted on the performance of the marriage ceremony with the governor. The same night, the night of the marriage ceremony, it rained heavily, and in the darkness and storm Yoritomo played the part of Lochinvar, and carried off the willing bride to the mountains, and there hid with her. The father soon forgave them, and when, in the following year, a son was born to Masago and declared the heir of the Minamoto, he became devoted to Yoritomo, and thenceforward forgot his loyalty to his own clan, and entered heart and soul into Yoritomo's plottings for the revival of the fortunes of the fallen house.

From early days the Minamoto were connected with the Kuantō. Their name and history were well known throughout the eight provinces, and as the provinces were separated from the capital by a mountain barrier over which there were only three passes available for troops, the majority of the surviving clansmen sought and found refuge in them during the domination of the Taira at Kioto. Communications were opened by Yoritomo with all of them whose whereabouts could be found, and ere long a considerable army was gathered of men who hated the Taira as the authors of all their misfortunes, many already veterans in service, all with physique and endurance developed by their rough and arduous lives, so as to render them individually far more formidable than the Taira, who were living in ease and luxury at Kioto or Fukuwara. Recruits other than their own clansmen at first came in slowly. Their cause still seemed a forlorn hope. One influential magnate, on being asked to join, burst out laughing, and said:

"Does the mouse propose to attack the cat?" Yoritomo, nothing daunted, resolved to put his fortunes to the test, and, as an omen of ultimate success or failure, to surprise the fort of the Taira governor of the province, the same governor whom he had previously robbed of his bride. Tokimasa, the father of the bride, led the attack on the fort, and if successful was to signal the result to his waiting son-in-law by kindling a fire. The fort was strong, but the assailants crossed the fosse and forced an entry. An officer named Kagekado when in the fort came to a room where the door was open and a light was burning. He placed his helmet on his sword-point and gently thrust it in as if some one were peeping. A blow was struck at the helmet from within, whereon Kagekado rushed in and cut down the inmate. It was the governor. The fort was then set on fire as the signal to Yoritomo, and, soon following the signal, the head was laid before him of his rival in love, his enemy in war, equally unfortunate in both aspects. This was taken as an omen that "he should give peace to the Empire."

Secret plotting was now replaced by open war, and an initial success having been gained, the local chiefs, who had hesitated before, now boldly joined Yoritomo's white banner and threw in their lot with his. With three hundred men he took up a position on Mount Ishibashi, a thickly wooded hill which rises at the foot of the Hakone pass, a pass that is known to every European resident who has ever sought relief from the exhausting summer heat of the plains of Tokio in the picturesque mountains of the Hakone range. Here he was suddenly attacked by a force that outnumbered his by ten to one, which meant to annihilate him before reinforcements, which were known to be on the way, could join him. It was a night of intense darkness, and the rain fell in torrents. Friend could with difficulty be

distinguished from foe, but in the end Yoritomo was beaten, and his men broke and fled in headlong rout. At dawn, Yoritomo was found by six of his own men as he was resting against a tree. They all resolved to separate to meet again, one only remaining with Yoritomo. The Taira pursuers were soon at hand, and both hid themselves in the hollow trunk of a tree. One of the enemy thrust his bow inside and searched the hollow, actually touching the sleeve of Yoritomo's armour. Yoritomo prayed fervently to Hachiman for his protection, and his prayer was answered. Two wood-pigeons flew noisily out of the hollow, and the Taira soldiers, taking this as a sign that no one could be within, abandoned their search. In reporting their victory at Kioto, they said, to Kiyomori's great joy, that Yoritomo was dead. The descendants of the Minamoto have ever since refrained from using pigeons as food.

After hiding for some time in the mountains, and being nearly betrayed by a priest who was a friend of the Taira governor and wished to avenge his death, Yoritomo escaped to Awa, on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Tokio, crossing the same "Running Water" where Yamato Dake was saved by the sacrifice of his wife. Fortune had been cruel to him, but the darkest moment precedes the dawn. Nothing daunted by failure, he sent out proclamations far and wide through all the eight provinces, and they were answered in such a way that he was soon once more at the head of a great army, with which he marched to Kamakura, his old family seat. There the chiefs of all the eight provinces hastened to join him with their men, and ere a year had passed he had such numbers in his command and so perfected all his military organization that he was able to take the offensive, and cross the Ashigara pass at the head of two hundred thousand men. The Ashigara pass lies about ten miles to the north of Hakone Lake, and is the

most northern of the three passes which cross the Hakone range from the eastern plains and give access to the South through the province of Suruga. From it the road passes along the lower slopes of Mount Fuji, through long and picturesque avenues of venerable pines and cryptomeria, to Gotemba, the site, a few years later, of one of the great hunting camps founded by Yoritomo when at the height of his glory, now well known to every European who has made the ascent of Mount Fuji. Along these slopes the railway now runs from Tokio to Kioto, and everywhere along its route scenes of impressive beauty present themselves to the traveller's eye. Close on his right, as he journeys southwards, Fujiyama rises in all its majestic grandeur, while on the left the fertile slopes, gradually descending to the sea-level, are covered with cultivated fields and gardens, the thatched roofs of the farmers' houses peeping out from the midst of groves of camellia-trees that, in early spring, are a glory of bright-red blossoms. Now the scene is one of gentle beauty, amidst which the railway descends to the mouth of the River Fuji, away to the west of the great mountain. It was along the present railway route that Yoritomo passed with his great army in 1189, through what was then a wilderness of forest and brushwood, amidst which only the wild boar and deer found a home.

Kiyomori's joy at the news he had heard of Yoritomo's death in the fight at Mount Ishibashi was short-lived. It was soon reported to him that his enemy was not only alive, but full of energy and hope, that recruits were flocking to him in thousands, and that preparations for a great campaign were in active progress at Kamakura. Kiyomori, though now old and ill, paying the penalty in his later years of his debauchery and luxury, unable to take the field himself and lead the van of his troops, as he would have done ten years earlier, was still vigorous in mind, and had lost none of the unflinching

courage which had raised him to his high position. He quickly organized a powerful army, which marched eastward from Kioto under the command of his youngest brother, Tadamori, and his grandson, Koremori, to meet and crush Yoritomo.

The two armies came face to face on the banks of the River Fuji. The Fuji, descending sharply from the eastern slopes of the mountain, its course in many parts marked by impetuous rapids that rush through lofty gorges, down which, in the present day, boatmen take many parties of foreign tourists with marvellous skill, is always one of the most rapidly flowing rivers even in such a land of mountain torrents as Japan. When the two armies faced each other on the opposite banks, heavy rain had swollen the river, and its current rushed with even more than usual violence. Neither army dared to cross in front of an entrenched foe on the other bank. The Easterns sent a herald to the Taira to inquire whether a day and means could not be arranged for the two armies to try their fortune on equal terms, the crossing of the river by one being placed out of bounds so far as fighting was concerned, but the Taira vouchsafed no answer. Then one of the Eastern commanders secretly led a division northward over the hills, crossed the river where it was narrower by hanging bridges—fragile bridges of bamboo rope and planks suspended from either side of a narrow ravine—and came down at night in the rear of the Taira. As he passed through the marshland, large flocks of wild geese and duck rose with loud cries, and the Taira, thinking that Yoritomo's whole force was on them, retreated in disorder. Yoritomo wanted to pursue them at once, but his generals dissuaded him. The Eastern provinces were not yet wholly his; his force and material were insufficient for a prolonged campaign against an enemy that had all the advantages of unlimited wealth and, still more, which

was thrice armed, in that it fought with all consciousness of legal right to defend the government of the Divine Emperor against Yoritomo, who was now, in the eye of the law, a rebel. So the army was withdrawn and marched back to Kamakura, where Yoritomo devoted himself not only to the organization of his army, but to the founding, at the home of his ancestors, of a great city which, in size and wealth, would rival the ancient capital of Kioto, and be a worthy residence for himself when he had reached the summit of his ambition.

One night, at the beginning of the march backward, the army bivouacked outside the town of Numadzu, which lies on the Tokaido at the western foot of the Hakone pass. It was announced to Yoritomo in his own apartments that a knight whom no one knew, about twenty years of age, of distinguished mien, had suddenly appeared in camp at the head of twenty horsemen and demanded an interview. Yoritomo exclaimed: "This must be Kurō of Mutsu. Admit him at once." The knight entered within the curtain, and it was Yoshitsune (Kurō was his second name—"Ninth Son," corresponding to our Christian name). The brothers had not met since both were boys, captives in the hands of Kiyomori, apparently doomed to death. They wept tears of joy together, hardened soldiers though they were. Yoshitsune, in the far-off province of Mutsu, had heard of his brother's uprising, and with a following, small but devoted, had ridden night and day to join him. To Yoritomo his coming was as welcome "as if the great father of both had risen from the dead."

It has been already told that when the lives of Tokiwa's children were spared it was on the condition that all should be placed in monasteries and brought up as priests. Yoshitsune, the youngest, a child in arms, was for that purpose consigned to the care of the monks of Kuramayama, a monastery lying among the hills

about ten miles to the north of Kioto. The good Fathers did their best to discharge honestly the trust that had been reposed in them, but they found the task more than they could accomplish. Their novice, though short in stature, was so strong that he was called by the name of Ushiwaka—the young bull—and his fiery and impetuous disposition was the reverse of that which becomes a holy priest. He passed his days in practising archery and swordsmanship, in athletic exercises of all kinds, and his nights in study, not of books of holy writ, but of the history of his own ancestors, of their proud descent, their exploits, their glory and their downfall, and the story stirred his boyish heart with a passionate desire to emulate all they had done, to avenge what they had suffered. The priests were at their wits' end with him. In vain they urged him to shave his head as the outward manifestation of an irrevocable decision to become a member of the priesthood, pointing out to him that it was the one and only way to ensure his safety while the great tyrant was alive and the Taira at the zenith of their power; but his answer was: "My two brothers have become priests, and I am ashamed of them. Am I to imitate them?" At last he escaped from the monastery with the aid of a travelling goldsmith who was on his way to Mutsu, and the monks, thankful to be rid of one who was a perpetual disturbance to their monastic decorum, made no attempt to pursue him. The Province of Mutsu, in the far North, was governed by an official of the Fujiwara family. It was still the wild background of Japan, still untranquillized, still inhabited by wild aborigines who were a constant source of danger to the scattered Japanese colonists. Kiyomori had not thought it worth his attention, or the expense and difficulties of a campaign that would bring him no material profit and be both costly and difficult. So it was safe from his far-reaching

hand. Here the governor was glad to welcome so promising and high-born a recruit. This was in the year 1174, and Yoshitsune was then fifteen years old. During the succeeding years he had his fill of active service, and became a daring and experienced soldier.

The stories that are told of his exploits both at this period of his life and in its later stages are endless, and still delight the high-spirited school-boys who love to see in them the mirror of all the daring and fortitude that are the glory of the national chivalry. While still little more than a boy, a bandit, notorious for his strength and skill at arms, stole a horse from the camp, but was pursued and overtaken. Sword in hand, with his back against a tree, he defied his pursuers, and none but Yoshitsune dared to approach him. Yoshitsune disarmed and took him single-handed. On another occasion a large band of robbers boldly attacked the camp. In the fight Yoshitsune slew four of them. Once, in later years, on the bridge of Gojō, near Kioto, he was attacked by a noted robber, eight feet in height, "stronger than a hundred men"; Yoshitsune disarmed him and forced him to sue for mercy. This was Benkei, who vowed, and kept his vow, that he would serve and never part from his victor, that he would be his true man till death, and Benkei's exploits in his master's service are only less joy to the school-boy than those of his heroic and high-born master. When Yoritomo was in doubt as to which of his younger brothers he should entrust with the command of the army after the death of Yoshinaka, he heated a metal water-jug red-hot, and called upon each brother in turn to serve him with it. All except Yoshitsune dropped it as soon as they took it into their hands. He alone held it till his lord and brother's requirements were satisfied. When he was commander-in-chief of the great expedition that was pursuing the flying Taira on the way to Dan no Ura, a

skirmish took place near Takamatsu, a town about halfway down the Inland Sea. The Taira retreated to their boats, and Yoshitsune, leading the pursuit, rode after them into the sea. There he dropped his bow, and as he stooped from his saddle to recover it the Taira, from their boats, eager to capture such a prisoner, tried to take him by fastening a long hook into his helmet. Yoshitsune parried the hook with his sword in one hand, and with the other still sought his bow. His own men from the beach, implored him to come back, but he would not till he was able to bring the bow with him. The enemy rained arrows around him from their boats as he retreated, but a brave soldier covered him with his own body and received the arrows intended for the general. Yoshitsune helped the dying man ashore, and then, as he breathed his last, held his head in his own lap and thanked him for what he had done. All the army were proud and ready to die for a leader who could be at once so brave and kind.

It was in the year after the retreat from the Fuji that Kiyomori died, and the master-mind that had created the glories of the Taira was lost to them in their hour of peril. It now began to be felt that the Taira was a losing cause, and their enemies, who, without affection for or interest in the fortunes of the Minamoto, hated the Taira for their cruelty, tyranny and greed, who had only submitted to them through fear, hastened to join the leader of what was becoming a national crusade. It is not necessary in this volume to follow all the details of a campaign that was carried through the Provinces of Mino and Omi under the command of Yoritomo's uncle, Yukiuji, and his cousin, Yoshinaka. Yoritomo himself remained at the base, Kamakura. No one could doubt his courage, and from the base he could superintend all the operations of the different armies that were fighting for him. The Taira resisted every step of the advancing

Eastern armies, and had some gleams of temporary success; but these successes were invariably followed by greater victories of their foes. Once the whole Taira army was driven over the brink of a deep ravine, and more than twenty thousand men met their death by falling into the ravine, and it was so filled that the victors were able to cross on their piled-up corpses. On another occasion panic seized them at a bridge, and as they crowded across it more than a thousand men fell from the bridge and were drowned in the river below. At last the conquerors entered into Kioto in triumph, carrying the white banner where it was thought it would never have been seen again. Munemori, Kiyomori's son and heir, fled from the capital to his palace and fortress at Fukuwara, taking with him his nephew, the young Emperor Antoku, and the sacred regalia of the crown that were kept in the Imperial palace, and by so doing still preserved for himself and his followers the status of loyalists.

In the general massacre of the Minamoto after Yoshitomo's death, Yoshinaka, then a boy, was, like his cousins, Yoritomo and Yoshitsune, ordered for execution, but his jailors spared him and hid him. While a boy, living in obscurity, the only sports in which he would take part with his fellows were those in which they played at soldiers, and as he grew up he developed unusual physical strength and skill as a mounted archer. His rough upbringing among social inferiors gave him no chance of acquiring the polish of a courtier, even that of a squire. His manners were coarse and vulgar; he had no patience with the etiquette and ceremony of a court, and he soon became an object of hatred to the courtiers who remained in Kioto after the flight of the Emperor, and of ridicule to the mass of the inhabitants, who were accustomed to look for all the outward manifestations of dignity and rank in their rulers. He was a

valiant and capable soldier, but all the life he knew in his manhood was that of the camp, and that did not supply the deficiencies in the training of his youth. He was also proud and overbearing. He had led the conquering army to Kioto. He had performed great services, had borne the brunt of the fighting while the head of his family, for whose sake he fought, remained in safety at Kamakura, but he set an extravagant estimate on what he had done. In his pride he forgot that he was a vassal, and assumed in his triumph at Kioto the airs and powers of an irresponsible dictator. Yoritomo was not the man to admit any equal with him in authority. He remonstrated with his cousin in vain. Then he determined to crush him. Yoshitsune, who had not taken part in the march on Kioto, was recalled from the North, where he had been sent to collect troops, and placed in command of a new army, with orders to take or destroy his cousin.

The common foes of all the Taira, who were still powerful, though so often defeated, were now to fight against each other. Yoritomo still remained at Kamakura, but showed his prescience as a strategist by his instructions to Yoshitsune: "If Yoshinaka is taken at all, it will be at the River Uji. Take care that you have men and good horses to carry them across the river."

Japanese have a peculiar custom of giving different names to one and the same river, the names varying with the districts through which the river flows in its course from source to sea. The River Yodo flows out of Lake Biwa and enters the sea at Osaka. In its course it passes through the tea-growing district of Uji, justly famed for centuries for producing the finest tea that is grown in all Japan. As it flows between the prosperous towns of Uji and Fushimi in this district it is called the Uji, and it was on its banks that Yoritomo rightly

foresaw that Yoshinaka would make his stand. Near the town of Uji is a Buddhist monastery, Byōdō-In, renowned for its Phœnix Hall, and it was in this monastery that Yoshitsune took up his position when about to force the passage of the river. He had twenty-five thousand men with him. Yoshinaka defended the opposite bank with a thousand, but he had stripped the bridge of its planks, and had planted stockades and occupied a strong defensive position. Yoshitsune beat the drum of the monastery to command attention, and then issued his orders that the main strength was to swim the river, while the best archers should cover them from the standing beams and posts of the bridge. The passage was disputed to the last, but it was made, though at heavy loss to the victors. Yoshinaka, with the few survivors of his gallant thousand, fled to Kioto. The Easterns were hot on his trail, there was no abiding place for him there, and he paused only to take leave of his wife. In the first days of his triumph he had married a daughter of the Fujiwara, and the high-born, gentle lady of the court had won the heart of the rough and uncouth soldier. He dallied so long in her company that two of his men remonstrated with him, and gave the usual Japanese emphasis to their remonstrances by committing *hara-kiri* at the gate of his palace. Then he fled once more, and all that remained faithful to him of the great army he had so lately commanded and led to victory were three hundred horsemen. His pursuing foes—his own kith and kin—were close behind him, and his flight was a continued battle. At last only thirteen men remained to him, and they were surrounded by thousands. Yoshinaka tried to gain a hill on which to make a last stand, but his horse got bogged in a rice-swamp, and as he struggled to get through an arrow struck him on the head and killed him. Two of his followers, to whom he was strangely related, had clung

to him to the last moment. He had a mistress named Tomoye, a woman of extraordinary strength and stature, who rode and fought as a man among his knights. When the pursuers were close to him, she turned and with one sword-stroke killed their leader. Yoshinaka begged her to save herself, saying: "I am going to die. What will be said of me if I take my mistress with me?" She begged to be allowed to die with him, but, as he insisted, she bade farewell to him with tears and left him. Her brother, Kanehira, stood by his leader and fought vigorously to the last. He had only eight arrows left in his quiver, but with every arrow he slew an enemy. Then hearing a cry that his lord was dead, he said: "My work is done," and fell from his horse on his own sword and died. Tomoye escaped and made her way to the distant province of Echigo, where she became a nun, and spent the remainder of her life in praying for her lover's happiness in the next world.

The tragedy did not end with the death of the principal character. His son had married Yoritomo's daughter, and remained at Kamakura as the guest of his father-in-law, in reality as hostage for his father. When the father rebelled against Yoritomo, the son endeavoured to escape, but was taken, and had to pay the last penalty for his father's crime. Yoritomo wished to marry his widow to one of the Fujiwara, to directly ally his family with the most noble house in the Empire; but subservient though daughters in Japan are to their fathers' wishes, trained as they are from birth to practise the extreme of self-abnegation, here the daughter had her father's courage and determination, the spirit of a true daughter of a Samurai, and the memory of her young, slaughtered husband was too dear to her to permit her to give herself to another, and so she killed herself with her dead husband's sword.

Yoshinaka being dead, the chief command of the

Minamoto army, in Yoritomo's absence, devolved on Yoshitsune. The Taira, while the Minamoto were at war among themselves, had recovered both strength and spirit. They had been reinforced by large levies of troops from the South, and they had strongly entrenched themselves at Fukuwara, converting Kiyomori's great palace into a formidable fortress. Fukuwara lies close to the sea on the banks of the River Minato, the western boundary of the modern town of Kobe. It is a site of great natural beauty, with a background of thickly wooded hills, and in the foreground the blue waters of the Izumi Nada, the Bay of Izumi, which at the present day are always enlivened by the numerous ships that pass in and out of the great commercial port. The bank of the river is a favourite walk of the European merchants and traders of Kobe, few of whom, as they stroll through the long avenue of venerable pine-trees, give even a passing thought—if indeed they have any knowledge at all of them—to the great events of which the riverside was once the scene, though to the people among whom they live, with whom they trade, by whom they are now governed, these events are as full of interest as those of Bannockburn or Culloden are to the most devoted lover of his country in Scotland. Here, the Taira were so strong that they planned an advance on Kioto and the recovery of their influence in the ancient capital. But they had an enemy who did not loiter. Marching by night, and lighting the way for his troops by burning the houses on the road, Yoshitsune suddenly appeared before the fortress. The Taira lines extended on either side of the fortress for a total distance of eight miles, from the temple of Ikuta in the immediate rear of the European residential quarters at Kobe, to the valley known as Ichi no Tani, which runs from the shore to the hills between Kobe and Akashi. At the entrance to this valley the Taira had established

their strongest post, and their defences, made as strong as engineering science of the day could effect, extended from the valley to the sea, while off the shore a large fleet was anchored from which archers could maintain a heavy flank fire on the enemy advancing by the shore. Ichi no Tani was the scene of the greatest struggle in the battle which raged along the entire line, and it is by that name that the battle is historically known. Twice the Minamoto were beaten back from the strong earthworks with heavy loss, and many of their best officers were killed. Then, as night fell, a boy was found, the son of an old hunter who had passed his whole life among the hills, and the boy knew them as well as the father. He said there was a path, but it was so steep as to be fit for neither men nor horses, only deer could descend it. Yoshitsune answered, "Where a deer can go, so also can a horse." In the darkness of the night Yoshitsune led three thousand men to the summit of the pass, which they reached just as the day broke, and from the summit they could look down on the battlefield below and on the inside of the Taira defences. But the descent was as forbidding as the guide had foretold. It was many hundred feet in height, and steep as a precipice. The horsemen looked at each other, but none dared to lead the downward way. Then Yoshitsune whipped his horse, forced it to the bank and slid down, reaching the bottom in safety, and, when he had done so, his men followed him. They were now in the rear of the Taira, where their defences were open. At once, knee to knee and helmet to helmet, they charged, and the Taira, taken suddenly in the rear, were seized with panic, and broke and fled for refuge to their ships. A hideous scene of carnage followed. The panic-struck fugitives were cut down in thousands by the victors. Thousands more were drowned. Even then the ships could not receive

half the survivors, and the crews, to prevent swamping, were obliged to beat back the soldiers, who fought in frantic terror to climb on board, so that the ships were filled with amputated arms and hands. The loss was not confined to the rank and file. Of Kiyomori's own family, a brother, two sons, two grandsons and five nephews were among the slain, and the story of the death of the youngest among them is, amidst all the romantic incidents in Japanese history, the one that, next to that of Tokiwa, still appeals most strongly to the compassion of the Japanese.

The story is that of Atsumori, the youngest son of Kiyomori's youngest brother, a boy of singular beauty and delicate frame, scarce sixteen years of age. When the panic occurred, he, with the rest, endeavoured to escape to the ships. When he saw the maddened crowds struggling around them, he stayed his horse for a moment in the sea, then turned him round to the shore to face his pursuing foes and die in a manner worthy of one who belonged to a noble family of warriors. He had scarcely reached the beach when he was attacked by Kumagai Naozane, a strong and veteran soldier of the Minamoto. He defended himself valiantly, but was overborne by Kumagai's greater strength and skill, and at length lay prostrate on the ground. Seeing by his armour that he was of high rank, Kumagai dismounted to take his brave enemy's head as the custom was, but when he knelt on his chest and pulled off the helmet so that he might cut off the head with greater ease, he discovered the handsome boyish face beneath. For a moment his pity was stirred and he was minded to spare the boy's life and give him one more chance to fly. But his gentle mood was of short duration. The chances of escape for the boy were remote in such a debacle. The head of such a noble was too great a prize to be lightly foregone, and if

Kumagai did not take it, some of his comrades, less pitiful than he, would be sure to do so. So he hardened his heart and cut off the head of the boy, who had scorned to utter a single word in appeal for mercy. But remorse soon seized the victor. The noble face haunted him for ever. His lifelong trade of arms, which demanded such horrors, became loathsome to him, and he became a Buddhist priest, and spent the rest of his days in the monastery of Kurodani at Kioto. A pine-tree still stands in the yard of the monastery, on which he is said to have hung his own armour when he doffed it for the last time, and two simple monuments mark the graves in which he and his victim's head are buried. Two elder brothers of Atsumori fell on the same day. Their father was present, but escaped only to die in the following year, in the final holocaust of all his kindred. A brother of Kiyomori was taken prisoner, sent all the long way to Kamakura in a cage, and there executed.

A year and a quarter passed away. The Taira reorganized themselves and gathered a fleet of five hundred ships in the long and narrow straits of Shimonoseki, the western outlet of the Inland Sea of Japan to the China Sea. They had been beaten on land, but they had yet to test their fortune on the seas, and as sailors they had greater experience than the Minamoto. But the latter had now greater resources, and Yoshitsune was able to follow them with a fleet of seven hundred ships, whose crews gained experience as they slowly made their way through the channels of the Inland Sea. At last the two fleets met in the straits on a bright morning in May. The Taira were about to fight for their very existence. They had been driven from point to point the whole way from Kioto. They had been pursued "as the hawk urges the pheasants when the moors are burnt and no cover is left." Occasionally successes had contributed to lengthen their long

struggles and to prevent them losing all confidence in themselves and their leaders, and now that the first trial of strength on the sea had come, they hoped that the day would be the beginning of the retrieval of their fallen fortunes. With them, on board, were their wives and children, whom they had carried with them in their flight from the East, who could find no safe refuge elsewhere, when all the land was overrun with the conquering and merciless Minamoto. A still more sacred charge was the young Emperor, their divine sovereign, the descendant of the Gods of Heaven, whom it was their duty to protect at all cost from sacrilegious hands. He had been carried with them throughout the whole retreat from Kioto, and was now on board the flagship, in which were also his mother, the Empress, and Kiyomori's widow. The head of the Taira, Munemori, the son who succeeded Kiyomori, was in supreme command, and in the other ships were all the members of his family who had survived to that day, all determined to conquer or to die as became noble warriors. The Minamoto ships were unencumbered by women and children. They came to the attack with untried sailors, but with a long record of victory on land behind them, under a leader who had never known defeat, with the prospect of exterminating their hated foes. The Taira fought with the courage of desperation. The first Minamoto attack was beaten back. The narrowness of the straits prevented the simultaneous employment of their whole fleet, but they had a reserve of fresh ships to bring up when the first line was beaten, and they soon rallied and came on again. This time they were aided by treachery. Taguchi Shigeyoshi, a Taira commander, who had brought a strong force of ships and men from Kiushiu, allied with the Taira though not of their blood, had previously been in traitorous correspondence with Yoshitsune. In the crisis of the action

he deserted his flag, and, with the ships under his command, crossed over to the enemy, after first remaining a passive spectator for a while until he saw how the day was going, and turned his arrow fire on his former comrades. His desertion left the Taira hopelessly outnumbered, and decided the fortune of the day. Guided by the traitor, Yoshitsune marshalled all his strength against the flagship and boarded it himself. He was driven back, and Noritsune, a nephew of Kiyomori, as young and brave and active as Yoshitsune, followed him so vigorously that he was obliged to seek refuge in another ship. Then Noritsune, left alone in his enemy's ship, which had now cast off from his own, with certain death before him, jumped into the sea and was drowned. Omens came to inspire the Minamoto with courage and fill the Taira hearts with gloom. Yoritomo's life was once saved by a pair of doves. Another pair now flew to Yoshitsune's ship while the action was at its height, and lit on his flagstaff. The Minamoto flag appeared in a dense mass of black clouds which came from the East and darkened what had hitherto been the brightest May day of glorious sunshine. Yoshitsune again came to the attack with fresh ships and men, and the Taira flagship was taken. All was now over except the slaughter of the beaten. Those who stuck to their ships were now largely outnumbered by their foes, and, fighting to the last, were cut down and speared without mercy. The sea was red with their blood. Both shores of the straits were lined with Minamoto cavalry, who had been leisurely watching the progress of the long naval action, and as the Taira sailors, whose ships were sunk or taken, struggled through the swift current of the straits to the shore, swimming or borne on the wreckage of their ships, wearied and nearly all wounded, the horsemen galloped to meet them as they endeavoured to land after having been carried by the rapid current

miles perhaps from the scene of the action, and butchered them ruthlessly. When night fell the Taira had been exterminated. A handful escaped and hid themselves in the wild and unknown mountain recesses on the borders of the provinces of Higo and Hiuga in Kiushiu, where they were entirely lost to sight. Their very existence was unknown till many years later, long after their ruthless conquerors had ceased to be a powerful political factor, and they have ever since lived, and live to this day, in this lonely district in seclusion, entirely apart from the rest of their countrymen. Many of their wives and daughters were saved alive. Without distinction of rank or class, gently born and delicately reared ladies, the humbler wives of the lower officers and men and serving wenches, all alike were given as prostitutes to the conquerors. Kiyomori's own family, which in the hour of his pride he thought to establish for ever as rulers of the Empire, was wiped out of existence. Two of his brothers, one the father of Atsumori, one son and two grandsons were killed in action. Munemori, his son and successor to his rank and titles, was taken alive. Along with his own son, who was also taken alive, he was sent in a cage to Kamakura, a journey of over five hundred miles, taking months to perform. There both father and son were made to walk barefoot seven times round Yoshitomo's tomb, and then both were executed as common criminals, and their heads exposed on the prison gates. Kiyomori's widow, worthy spouse of the great soldier and dictator, scorning to yield, took the child Emperor and, despite his mother's entreaties, threw herself into the sea. The mother, the ex-Empress, followed her, but she was hooked up by the Minamoto sailors and saved and taken into Yoshitsune's own ship. A general proscription was ordered, and Taira were sought for throughout the Empire. Little children, born of mothers of other

blood, had been left with their maternal relatives in Kioto. Their fathers' blood was their condemnation, and they were slaughtered without pity. Neither age nor sex afforded any protection against even a suspicion of kindred with the unhappy race. The men were universally condemned to die, the women to die or to a worse fate.

Yoshitsune returned in triumph to Kioto after his great victory at Dan no Ura, bringing with him his prisoners and the heads of the most noble of the slain Taira. Thence he proceeded to Kamakura to lay all at the feet of his lord and elder brother, for whom he had fought. Slanderers had, however, been whispering ill of him into Yoritomo's ears, and Yoritomo, who, notwithstanding all his great qualities, had the jealousy and spite of ignoble minds and was beginning to dread that his brother's renown might overcloud his own, lent a ready ear to the slanders. Tokimasa, his father-in-law, anxious to be his sole councillor, to have no rival in his thought or affection such as Yoshitsune, a hero, of his own blood, might naturally be, encouraged the suspicions and jealousy that were growing in his heart, and when Yoshitsune reached the little village of Koshigoye, only a few miles to the west of Kamakura, he found there orders from his brother not to proceed further. Publicly humiliated, with a heart full of grief at the consciousness of unrequited merit, but still loyal and affectionate to the only brother that was left to him, the only surviving member besides himself of their father's family, he sent him a letter in which he recounted the struggles of his childhood and youth and the services he had rendered, and besought the brother's forgiveness for aught in which he might unwittingly have erred, and his protection in the future. The draft of the letter is still preserved at the monastery in the village. It is said to have been written by the faithful

Benkei, and is full of infinite pathos from beginning to end. Yoshitsune having waited at Koshigoye in vain for an answer, returned to Kioto, not now as a proud and triumphant conqueror, but as one who was in the cold shade of disfavour with the real master of the Empire. His brother's malignity followed him, and descended so low as to cause an attempt to be made to assassinate him. When this failed, he resolved to lead a military expedition to Kioto himself and there take Yoshitsune; but before he had advanced far on his way, he heard that Yoshitsune had fled. He then returned to his capital, and there passed sentence of outlawry on Yoshitsune.

The latter at first took refuge in Yoshino, a mountainous district in the south of Yamashiro, famed far and wide for the beauty of its cherry-trees, the groves of which cover the slopes of the hills all round the little town that bears the name of the district, and in spring, when their branches are hidden beneath a mass of pink and white blossoms, they present a wondrous scene of delicate beauty. No spot in the world could afford a fairer refuge; in none is there such a combination of the softest and wildest aspects of nature. Only a little way beyond the dell where thousands of happy picnickers annually come in springtime to revel in the joys of the fairest flowers of Japan there are still dense forests and impenetrable brushwood, through which herds of wild boars roam now as they did a thousand years ago. Here his relentless brother's emissaries found him, and he was again obliged to seek safety in flight. This time he thought of the home of his youth, and, with his wife, the ever-faithful Benkei, and a handful of equally faithful followers who had fought under him in the days of his triumph, he made his way to the distant province of Mutsu, far away in the North, where he had found sanctuary even from the far-reaching arm of Kiyomori.

But times had changed. Kiyomori's authority had never reached the North. Yoritomo's now did so. The local chief who had defended Yoshitsune had just died, but he had left instructions to his son to defend him once more at all hazard. The son, dreading Yoritomo's vengeance, was false to his father and to his family's honour. With an overwhelming force he attacked Yoshitsune's little band on the bank of the River Komoro, and after a fierce fight, in which the old and tried soldiers defended their beloved leader to the last, all were killed. Yoshitsune, when he saw that the end had come, killed his wife and children with his own hand, and then died, as a noble Samurai should, when everything but honour is lost, upon his own sword. His head was found and sent to his brother in a lacquered box "moistened with strong wine," and it came to his brother just as he was celebrating with pompous ceremony the completion of the temple of Hachiman which he had erected in his capital in gratitude for all his victories. Benkei, faithful to the last, when his master and his comrades were dead around him, walked into the river, and there was shot to death by arrows fired from the bank by soldiers, not one of whom dared to come within reach of his mighty arm.

A sad story is told of Yoshitsune's lovely mistress, Shidzuka Gozen, that yields in pathos to that of Tokiwa only in the fact that she had no children and suffered alone. She was with him in Yoshino, but when he was forced to flee thence, he sent her back to Kioto under the escort of his own servant. The servant robbed and abandoned her on the way, and, alone and moneyless, she wandered helplessly in storms of snow and wind on the wild Yoshino mountains. She was found by some priests, who sent her to Kioto, and thence she was sent on to Kamakura. There she was examined as to her knowledge of Yoshitsune's whereabouts, but, though

examination meant torture, she firmly refused to tell anything that she knew. She had the reputation of being a graceful dancer, and she was called upon to dance before Masago, Yoritomo's wife, whose curiosity had been aroused. At first she refused, but at last gave way, and the platform on which she is said to have danced before Yoritomo and Masago still exists at Kamakura. She not only danced, but sang so pathetically of her love for Yoshitsune that all around were melted to tears; only Yoritomo himself was wroth, and angry at her praises of his outlawed brother he ordered that she should be put to death. Masago, though hard, and full of contempt for a dancer and the concubine of an outlaw, had still some relic of womanly gentleness in her heart. She interceded for her fallen sister, and sent her away with rich gifts. Her trials were, however, not yet over. One of Yoritomo's officers, tempted by her grace and beauty, tried to make her his own mistress. She indignantly repelled his advances. Then her child —Yoshitsune's child—was born. Yoritomo ordered that the child should be killed, but the unhappy mother was allowed to go and bury her sorrows and her memories in obscurity.

Yoritomo's triumph was now complete. He had avenged his father's death and established his own supremacy and that of his family so that none could dare to dispute it. The death of the Emperor at Dan no Ura left the throne vacant, and another very youthful scion of the Imperial family was placed on it. The new Emperor, Go Toba (1186–99), was in Yoritomo's power, and henceforth gave legality to every step and every action which he thought fit to take in the interests of himself, his own family or the Emperor. Throughout the war he had remained at Kamakura. He now made a triumphant progress and entry into Kioto, where honours were heaped upon him by the new

Emperor, and where he was received into the closest confidence by the cloistered Emperor (Go-Shirakawa). Among the honours was that of "Sei-i-tai-Shōgun"—Barbarian-repressing-great general. This was the first occasion of the bestowal of this full title. Many had held the title of Sei-i-Shōgun, which was very commonly given, throughout many generations, to generals when proceeding on active service, but Yoritomo was discriminated from them by the addition of the adjective "great," and that addition lent to the title a new significance with the nation. Holding all the *de facto* power of the executive, Yoritomo had now a dignity which brought with it almost sovereign prestige, and, in the progress of time, the true sovereigns, the Emperors, came more and more to be only a name to their subjects, and as they became lost to vulgar view in the sacred seclusion of their courts at Kioto, the ancient capital lost a large part of its importance, while the new capitals, first of Kamakura and later on of Yedo, where the Shōguns resided and had their government, came into existence and grew in wealth and magnificence, industry and population, as well as in political influence. The Tai Shōguns, at the same time, gradually acquired the positions of *de facto* sovereigns. To Europeans, in the early days of intercourse between the West and Japan, the Shōguns appeared to be the true sovereigns of the Empire, *de jure* as well as *de facto*. The Europeans heard vaguely of a sacred being who lived at Kioto, but he seemed to be almost a myth, or, if he had any functions at all, they were only those of a pope. Kaempfer, the first and still one of the greatest writers on Japan, wrote of him in the seventeenth century as the Ecclesiastical Emperor, while he called the Shōgun the Secular Emperor. The Jesuit Fathers, in their writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, invariably refer to the Shōgun as "His Majesty," while in the last century,

when Japan was forcibly drawn from her seclusion into the Comity of Nations, all the treaties of the great powers of the West were made with "His Majesty, the Tycoon," the Chinese substitute for the term Shōgun (Tai-kun) being anglicized in this way, and in none was the real Emperor referred to even by name. The establishment of this office, and the appointment of members of his own family by Yoritomo, though in the Emperor's name, as military governors of the provinces, responsible to the Shōgun for the efficient discharge of their duties, to act with and, in time, to displace the civil governors, who had hitherto administered them, and had been answerable to the Court at Kioto, laid the foundation of the dual system of government—that of a *de facto* sovereign at Kamakura or Yedo, and of a *de jure* sovereign at Kioto—which lasted until the year 1868.

Yoritomo had fought his way to power through a sea of blood, and the long wars had been the cause of untold misery to the country. But once his power was established on an indisputable basis, he set himself to restore prosperity with an energy and statesmanlike intelligence that in no way fell below that which he had shown in the suppression of his enemies. He established taxation on an equitable basis, relieved the peasantry of their most oppressive burthens, and encouraged industry and commerce. Lest the manly spirit and physical vigour of his soldiers should degenerate in peace as those of the Taira had done during the days of Kiyomori's power, he encouraged hunting, and, an ardent sportsman himself, he established great hunting camps on the wild slopes of Mount Fuji, over which his army had marched at the outset of his campaign against the Taira, and amidst the still wilder hills of Shinano, and these camps were the scenes of acts of love, murder and revenge which to this day are among the most popular subjects of drama and romance. But his main energies were

devoted to the extension and enrichment of his own capital at Kamakura, the home of his ancestors, which, under his fostering care, became the most magnificent city of the Empire, rich in wealth, industry and architectural splendour.

Yoritomo lived for fourteen years after he had reached the apogee of his power. Early in the year 1199 he attended in regal state at the ceremony of the opening of a new bridge over a river which crosses the Tokaido, the great eastern high road that leads from Tokio to Kioto, and flows into the sea between Kamakura and Odawara. As he rode across the bridge, amidst the cheers of the people who crowded both banks of the river, the ghost of Yoshitsune, the murdered brother whom he had treated so basely, suddenly rose out of the water and appeared before him. He fell fainting from his horse, and was carried home to die within a month. The horse plunged into the river, whence the river is still called Ba-niu—horse-enter.

With his death, the Gem-Pei[1] period of Japanese history may be said to have ended. It was one whose duration was of a brief space in the life of a nation that claims to have a history of 2,700 years, but its story has now been told at some length, as it is recognized by the Japanese people as the most heroic period throughout their history. No other is so full of incidents of chivalrous courage, of heroic struggles against adversity, of both persons and incidents that are to this day the delight of poets, painters and romanticists; no other has afforded such material for dramatists; none has produced sadder tales of youth and beauty destroyed in their early bloom, of more bitter falls in fortune, of more remorseless cruelty and relentless vengeance, of more glaring treachery and ingratitude. The two prin-

[1] Gem-Pei is the Sinico-Japanese reading of Minamoto and Taira.

cipal actors in it, Kiyomori and Yoritomo, are among the greatest statesmen and generals that Japan has ever produced either in ancient or modern times. Yoshitsune, as the mirror of the soul of Japan, as the national model of a gallant and devoted soldier, as a fearless knight, is second in the national annals only to the mythological hero, Yamatodake. His henchman, Benkei, is equally the national type of unquestioning fidelity, unreasoning courage and muscular strength. While Yoshitsune and Benkei were wandering amidst the maples of Yoshino, Richard Cœur de Lion and Robin Hood were simultaneously holding revel amidst the oaks of Sherwood, and what the latter are in English history, Yoshitsune and Benkei are in that of Japan. The names and memories of both, even in these days of materialism, still stir the hearts and quicken the pulses of the youth of Japan in a way that their English prototypes no longer do to the youth of England. Japanese school-boys in their games love nothing better than to play their parts, and the faces of both are the most favourite decoration that they can have on their kites. Lastly, it was the period that witnessed the final establishment of the political system that lasted to our own day, and ended only at the accession of the present Emperor to the throne.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HŌJŌ USURPERS

YORITOMO left two sons, Yoriiye and Semman, the first eighteen and the last nine years of age at the time of his death. The story of his marriage has already been told. His wife, Masago, continued throughout his life to give evidence of the strong and ambitious character which the circumstances of her marriage promised, and to exercise an influence over her husband which has been seldom paralleled among Japanese women of the upper classes. Her influence combined with her extreme jealousy to prevent her husband indulging in the pleasures of love—of the love that is called illicit in the West, but is recognized as the reasonable privilege of man, from whom chastity is not expected, in the East—and imposed on him a degree of continency that is rare among the great characters of history in Japan, from Yamatodake down to the heroes of very modern days. Yoritomo is only one of the great names in history. That of his wife is perhaps the greatest female name, second only to that of the mythological Empress Jingō, and is only second to hers as it is not that of an Empress or of a princess of the Imperial line. Her father, Hōjō Tokimasa, was such as the father of his daughter might be expected to be: ambitious, intelligent, far-seeing, wholly unscrupulous in the means which he adopted to attain his ends; implacable and pitiless to his rivals and enemies, generous to his own partisans and devoted to his kindred. Throughout all his son-in-law's career, from his exile in Idzu to the last day of his state procession to the bridge of Baniu, he was his constant

adviser, his prime minister, his personal representative in absence, and the credit of much of Yoritomo's success as a statesman was justly due to the father who was always by his side to counsel or encourage him. The father was the head of an ancient clan, and, in the spirit and pride of clanship carried to the extreme, he was ambitious to raise the clan from its status of comparative insignificance to the foremost position in the Empire in wealth and in influence. Before he died, he had assured for it a dominance in the state which lasted for 130 years, the dominance in everything but name which Kiyomori and Yoritomo had in turn schemed and fought to obtain for their descendants.

Yoriiye succeeded his father in all his honours. It has been noticed already, and other instances will be quoted hereafter, of the marked way in which history has repeated itself in Japan. It did so in the cases of Kiyomori and Yoritomo in giving them each eldest sons whose characters were as opposite as the poles to those of their fathers. Kiyomori's son, Higemori, was as merciful, gentle and restrained as his father was cruel, merciless and lustful. Yoritomo's son was as idle, frivolous and dissipated as his father was austere, earnest and frugal. Such a youth gave little serious thought to duty, and on Yoritomo's death, Tokimasa easily vested in himself all the active functions of Chief Minister of State, and, in his contempt for his grandson, soon ceased to make even a pretence of consulting him. He naturally filled all the great public offices with his own relatives and partisans, and, at the same time, secretly encouraged the grandson in the indulgence of his vices in the companionship of worthless favourites, so that he came to be regarded by the nation as a mere voluptuary, incompetent, as he seemed to be indifferent, to exercise the functions of his high office. But there was still some of his father's spirit in him, notwith-

standing all his frivolity. Indignant at the disclosure of a plan which Tokimasa had formed to force him to abdicate in favour of his (Yoriiye's) son, a child, he made an effort, with the aid and counsel of his own father-in-law—a Minamoto noble—to rid himself of his tutor and minister. While they were discussing their plans in Yoriiye's bedchamber, where he was at the time lying ill, his mother, Masago, listened from outside the door, and filial piety compelled her to sacrifice her son to her father, whom she informed at once of all she had overheard. His measures were prompt, sharp and final. Yoriiye's father-in-law and all his household, men, women and children, whether relatives or retainers, were slain after a sharp fight, and with them Yoriiye's child, who was intended to have succeeded him, also perished. Yoriiye himself was forced to shave his head and enter a monastery, but even that step did not satisfy Tokimasa's sense of his own security, and in the following year he caused his ill-fated grandson to be strangled in his bath. This was in the fourth year after Yoritomo's death.

Yoritomo's second son, Semman, who was now twelve years old, succeeded to his brother's honours. As the elder brother had neglected duty for the sake of pleasure, so did the second for that of literature and poetry. He was studious, religious and benevolent, but was content to look idly on while the Hōjō exercised a complete control over all the affairs of the state. Many of the senior officers who had served or fought for Yoritomo had now grown old and infirm or had died. Those who remained, who had the personal vigour or the power that might have made them formidable opponents to the Hōjō, were removed from office and sent to distant posts; those who attempted to resist were crushed as rebels, so that the young Shōgun was soon left without a single adherent on whose independent advice and support he might

rely in case of difference with the Hōjō. But his life was destined to last but little longer than that of his brother whom he had succeeded.

A younger son of Yoriiye survived his father. His name was Kugio, and he was four years of age at his father's death. He was consigned to a Buddhist monastery, so that, enrolled in a priesthood whose members are vowed to celibacy, he could neither himself, when arrived at manhood, be any obstacle to the Hōjō's ambition, nor leave behind him posterity who might become so in later years. One of the great temples at Kamakura, which survived the destruction of the city in the fourteenth century and exists to this day, is that of Hachiman, the God of War, the patron God of the Minamoto family, which was erected by Yoritomo when at the height of his power. Kugio was appointed a high priest in this temple when he was only nineteen years of age. The temple still exists, and though the present building is not the same as that over which Kugio presided, it conserves all the features of the original. The entrance, through an avenue of pines, interspersed with high willows and icho, which are said to have been planted in the time of Semman, leads past two large ponds which, in summer, are covered with the white flowers of the lotus, and through three great toriye to the main building. The whole avenue is a scene of solemn impressiveness as well as of great natural beauty, and it remains to this day as it was when trodden by the feet of the famous Shōgun and his retainers.

Kugio had learned of the circumstances of his father's death, and, blaming his uncle as the instigator of the crime, he constantly cherished in his heart the prospect of revenge. Early in the year 1219 Semman received from the Emperor the appointment of Udaijin, third minister of state in the Empire, and his religious dis-

position prompted him to return thanks for the honour at the shrine of Hachiman. In the ordinary course he would have done so in daylight, but on this occasion it was ascertained by divination that a night service would be more propitious. Attended by a large escort and by all the high officers of state, he went to the temple in solemn procession, but he left the main part of his retinue at the gate, and entered the shrine attended by only one member of his personal suite. He wore neither sword nor armour himself, though he had been urged to use both. As he left the shrine, having finished his devotions, a man rushed on him and, with one sweeping blow, cut off his head. Raising his voice, the assassin cried out loudly, "I am Kugio, and have avenged my father's murder." Then he escaped in the darkness and confusion, carrying the head with him. Troops were sent in his pursuit, and when they overtook him he defended himself to the last; but numbers prevailed and he was killed, and with him ended the last of the direct line of Yoritomo. The family which its greatest member had fondly hoped would be established in power for ever only survived him for twenty years. Semman's head was never found. Before starting on his last procession, he had laughingly given a hair of his head to the servant who was dressing him, saying, "Keep this in memory of me." As his head could not be found, this hair was, in lieu of it, buried with the body.

The Hōjō Period of history now began, a period which was remarkable, among other things, for having witnessed the vicious system which had eaten into the national polity carried to its extreme limit. The Fujiwara, as has been already told, were the first to deprive the Emperors of their *de facto* authority. They were followed by Kiyomori and Yoritomo, Yoritomo being the first to assume, on the Emperor's grant, the great

title of Sei-i-tai-Shōgun. Yoritomo's two sons, who in turn succeeded him in this office, both nominally held the entire executive, but all the real power was vested throughout the lifetime of both, at first in their masterful grandfather, Hōjō Tokimasa, and, when he died in 1216, in their equally masterful mother, Tokimasa's daughter, Masago. The last of the two sons was assassinated and the assassin killed in 1219, and Yoritomo's direct line came to an end. The way was therefore open for the daughter not only to conserve the power in her own hands, but to ensure its transmission to her own descendants, and render the head of the clan from which she sprang the supreme master of the Empire. Neither Tokimasa nor any of his descendants ever assumed the title of Sei-i-tai-Shōgun. They were always content to leave that office to another as a purely nominal dignity, while they exercised the real authority themselves under the title of Shikken or regent, and the result was that they ruled the Empire in the name of the Shōgun, who in turn could legally act only in the name of the Emperor. This continued while the chiefs of the Hōjō preserved the ability and vigour of the founder of their line. But, as time went on, the creeping paralysis which reduced the Emperors to fainéants, which rendered the Shōgun impotent, got hold also of the Hōjō, and while the last members of their dynasty continued to be nominally Shikken, they allowed all the power to fall into the hands of their Kanrio, a minister taken from among their own subordinate retainers who acted in the name of his feudal lord. There were thus simultaneously four degrees in the chief authority of the Empire, Kanrio, Shikken, Shōgun and Tennō, minister, regent, vicegerent and Emperor. The Kanrio was the *de facto* head of the state, exercising his functions and holding his office in the name of, and as representative of, the Shikken, the

Shikken in that of the Shōgun and the Shōgun in that of the Emperor, the last three being mere cyphers, as far as any active or influential participation in the affairs of the state was concerned. They had all the outward pomp and dignity of their great offices, but were mere puppets in the hands of the wire-pullers beneath them. There were, however, some rare exceptions to the general rule. The Emperors were not invariably mere voluptuaries content to pass their lives in idle enjoyment of court luxury, finding their pleasure or occupation, according to their individual taste, in poetry, literature, art or sensualism, and occasionally one appears on the scene of both mental and bodily vigour, who, fretting in the meshes in which he is involved by the usurpers of the authority that rightfully belongs to him alone, makes an attempt to assert the dignity and prerogatives of the throne and to take into his own hands the active control of the Empire that was held and exercised by his remote ancestors. There was such an instance in the beginning of the Hōjō Period, and another at its close. In both the end was the same as far as it related to the throne. The first ensured the dominance of the Hōjō, the second their downfall, but in each case the Emperor's grasp of power was momentary and he paid for it by his deposition and banishment.

In 1219 the Emperor Juntoku (1211–1222) was on the throne, but his two immediate predecessors, his father, Go Toba (1186–1199), who succeeded the boy who perished at Dan no Ura, and his elder brother, Tsuchi Mikado (1199–1211), both of whom had abdicated, were still alive, living in nominal retirement. Go Toba was a man of character and strength who was eager to see the restoration of the Imperial prerogative even though not in his own person. The weakness and idleness of Yoritomo's sons seemed to furnish the opportunity, and preparations were made at Kioto to enforce the

Emperor's claims by arms. Go Toba, in order to render his own authority more effective, forced his son, Juntoku, to abdicate in favour of the latter's son, Chūkiyō, a boy, so that there were actually four Emperors living at one time, the oldest of whom was for the moment the controlling spirit of the court, while the actual occupant of the throne was a child of five years of age. The head of the Hōjō clan was now Yasutoki, the grandson of Tokimasa, but the mastering spirit was still his aunt Masago. On the death of her husband, she shaved her head and retired into a nunnery, but her abandonment of the world and its affairs was only a shadowy fiction, so well recognized that she was always spoken of throughout the country as the "Ama Shōgun"—the nun-vicegerent. She now boldly came to the front, so that the two guiding spirits of the rival parties were the ex-Emperor, Go Toba, nominally a monk and the ex-Shōgun's widow, nominally a nun, both of whom emerged from their religious seclusion to direct a great constitutional movement.

Masago called before her all the principal generals and councillors at Kamakura, and there, modestly obscured, as a woman should be, from common eyes by a screen which hung half way down before her, she addressed them, saying—

"I am going to-day to take leave of all you gentlemen. The late Shōgun wearing hardness (armour) and wielding sharpness (the sword) pierced the way through the weeds and established a great position, as all of you gentlemen know. Now slanderers and evil speakers have deceived and misled the Lord of the people, and desire to overturn the Kuantō position. I suppose that none of you gentlemen forget the benefits you received from the late Shōgun. Therefore unite your strength and hearts. Destroy and remove the slanderers, and thus preserve the old plan complete. Then those who desire, in obedience to the Imperial command, to go up West, let them at once decide."

Modern Japanese writers love to find in this incident a parallel to Maria Theresa's appeal to the Hungarian diet. Masago's words, spoken with equal solemnity, had the same effect on her followers as those of Maria Theresa had on the Hungarians. No one thought of forsaking her, all vowed to follow and fight for her to the last. The fight was sharp, but ended, as all struggles between the brave but pleasure-loving courtiers of the West and the fierce warriors of the East had ended before, in the complete overthrow of the court party and the triumph of the regent at Kamakura. The unfortunate Emperors were ruthlessly dealt with. Chūkiyō was deposed after a reign of only three months, and Go Horikawa (1221–1232), a boy barely ten years of age, crowned in his stead. The old Emperor, Go Toba, was banished to the island of Oki; his sons, Tsuchi Mikado, though he had neither sympathized with, nor taken part in, his father's coup, to Awa, and Juntoku to the Island of Sado, where they were all abandoned to poverty and desolation in remote and semi-savage districts. The fiefs of the nobles, more than three thousand in number, who had espoused their cause, were confiscated and bestowed on the clansmen and followers of the Hōjō. Unlike previous and later military conquerors, Yasutoki had no desire for personal riches. He gave all the spoils of war, power only excepted, to his followers, and kept nothing for himself. The nomination of a young prince of the Fujiwara to the Shōgunate was easily procured from the new Emperor, and, in his name, Yasutoki continued to exercise the supreme power at Kamakura, while a watch and check over the Emperor were maintained by a cadet of the family, who resided at Kioto. Both Emperor and Shōgun were, throughout the whole of the Hōjō period, mere puppets, to be directed, deposed and appointed entirely at the will and caprice of their masters at Kamakura.

Masago died in the year 1225, but she had lived to see the political ascendency of the family in which she was born established on a firm basis. It lasted for a hundred and nine years after her death, and was successively transmitted through seven generations and, in the beginning, was productive of untold benefit to the nation, which, under firm rule, enjoyed the blessings of peace after a century of devastating civil wars. Three of the Hōjō rulers after Masago's death have especially left their mark on the pages of history.

Yasutoki, on whom fell the burthen of organizing their government, was distinguished both as a lawgiver and an administrator, still more for his unflagging industry, his conscientious devotion to duty, his economy in the state and his self-denial. He had seven younger brothers, sons of different mothers, among whom he divided all his father's lands, saying, "I have power, let my brothers have wealth." He promulgated a code of regulations for hearing and deciding civil cases; and as to criminal cases, he abolished the practice of extending the punishment of the offender to his relatives and servants when the crime was not of a grave nature. His diligence and economy became an example to all his officers. When famine came, he opened his granaries freely to the people, and by his encouragement of literature and art he did something to revive them from the consequences of the neglect they had suffered during the civil wars. When he died, the whole nation mourned him.

Tokiyori, the fifth in the line, imitated all the virtues of his grandfather, and even surpassed him in economy and industry and in his self-denial. In selecting his officials, he paid no attention to birth or lineage, but sought for merit wherever it could be found. One of his officials, Aoto Fujitsuna, whom he raised from low rank, earned a reputation which causes him to be regarded to

this day as a model of a just and incorrupt judge. The sixth regent was Tokimune, son of Tokiyori, under whom the attempted invasion of Kublai Khan, the story of which will be told later on, was triumphantly repulsed.

In 1315, Takatoki, the last of the Hōjō, succeeded to the regency. His predecessors had all been active in the discharge of their duties, and while not earning the gratitude of the country to the same extent as the three who have been mentioned, they endeavoured to follow in their steps, and ruled with firmness and justice that commanded the respect of the nation. Takatoki was of a different nature. He was dull in intellect, dissipated, too indolent to attend to his duties himself, or even to take the trouble of selecting honest and capable officials. He left the exercise of power entirely to his minister (Kanrio), who abused his authority and was influenced both in appointments and judgments solely by the bribes which he received. Meanwhile the unworthy regent spent his time in the society of dancing and singing girls, with musicians of whom he kept many thousands constantly in his pay, in drinking and feasting, indifferent to all that was occurring around the walls of his own palace. He found a strange amusement in watching dog-fights. Everywhere he sought out the fiercest dogs, of which, like the musicians, he kept many thousands, and his pleasures were divided between the dogs by day and the musicians by night.

During all the years that had now elapsed since the assumption of power by the Hōjō, both Emperors and Shōgun had been raised to the throne or office and deposed at the arbitrary will of the regents. Boys were nominated either as Emperors or Shōguns, chosen always, it is to be remembered, from the legitimate line, and the moment they displayed any impatience in their fetters or, in some cases, they arrived at an age when they might be expected to do so, they were forthwith

called upon to abdicate in favour of another boy. The list of the Emperors during this period contains the names of eleven Emperors whose average age at the time of their accession did not exceed fourteen, and the average length of whose reigns was little over eight years. The case of the Shōguns was even worse. Here, not boys, but almost infant children were chosen, and though in the first two cases they were sons of the noble Fujiwara family, and in the remainder princes of the Imperial line, they were looked upon with such contemptuous indifference to their claims of rank and birth by the Hōjō that, in one instance, where one of their number ventured, on arriving at manhood, to assert himself and his office, he was promptly not only deposed, but ignominiously sent back to his Imperial relatives at Kioto, heels upwards, in a norimono (palanquin).

In 1318, Go Daigo, an Emperor of a different type, came to the throne. He was already thirty-one years of age, mentally and physically vigorous, and though not free from vice or the influence of unworthy favourites, possessed many of the best qualities of a capable ruler. He was a student of history, and his studies taught him the prerogatives of his ancestors, which he saw, to his indignation, were usurped by the Hōjō, who, though they were no more than the vassals of the Shōgun, who, in turn, was the Emperor's vassal, assumed the right of disposing of the throne at their own will. Takatoki was now at the height of his misgovernment. Murmurs against his rapacity and tyranny were rife throughout all the country not immediately under the influence or profiting by the wealth and luxury of Kamakura, and the time seemed ripe for an effort to assert once more the authority of the Emperor. But, however unpopular the Hōjō had made themselves, however weak and pleasure-loving their chief leaders, they were still strong enough to suppress any armed revolt

that could be raised by the feeble court at Kioto, and, though the court army was commanded by a brave and efficient soldier, Kusunoki Masahige, it was easily defeated. It was again the old story. The soldiers of the East, now no longer trained by hardship and constant service as had been those of Yoritomo and Masago, but still retaining their old military spirit and skill, fell irresistibly upon the outnumbered and weak soldiers of the West and crushed them. The Emperor, who was responsible for the *émeute*, was deposed and exiled to the island of Oki, as was his predecessor, Go Toba, a hundred years previously when he attempted to oppose the rise of the Hōjō to power. But, on this occasion, the exile was not till death. The Emperor escaped from his prison. Masahige, though beaten, was not discouraged. He collected another army and again took the field, and this time he was joined by troops both from the South and East, and had the co-operation of two other soldiers who have left great names in history, though in different aspects, Ashikaga Takauji and Nitta Yoshisada, both scions of the Minamoto, both descended from grandsons of Yoshiiye, the founder of the Minamoto fortunes. Their ancestors were endowed by Yoshiiye with important fiefs, the first in the province of Shimotsuke, the second in that of Kodzuke, both far away to the north of Kamakura, both the homes of even more virile races of men than those reared in the provinces nearer to Kamakura. Takauji was sent from Kamakura to command an army to reinforce the Hōjō forces that were fighting around Kioto, but he deserted with all his men and threw in his lot with Masahige, and the two then attacked Kioto, which was held by the Hōjō. The defending army was composed of 30,000 men, half of whom were untrained to arms, and this force was soon so much reduced by desertion and loss in action that little more than a thousand fighting men

were left to them. The general evacuated the citadel and attempted, with his remaining force, to retreat to the North, but every hand was against them. They were not only pursued by the victors, but harried on all sides by the peasantry, so that, before they had gone far in the province of Omi, they were forced to take refuge in a Buddhist temple. Here their general, Nakatoki, who had commanded them at Kioto, saw that no more could be done. So he called together the surviving officers, thanked them for their services, and then killed himself, and more than four hundred officers and men "accompanied him in death."

Nitta Yoshisada, unlike Takauji, had no stain of treachery on his name. The Hōjō sent to his fief to demand both men and money, but he put the messengers to death, and, instead of coming to the assistance of the Hōjō in their hour of need, he gathered an army and led it southwards to attack their capital, Kamakura. Dark clouds were now gathering over the heads of the Hōjō. They heard simultaneously of the destruction of their army at Kioto and of the army of Yoshisada that was advancing against them at Kamakura. But, however hated they had made themselves throughout the rest of the Empire by the greed and tyranny of those who now ruled in their name, and by their sacrilegious cruelty to the Emperors, they had still abundance of brave soldiers and competent generals who were devoted to their cause, and vigorous preparations were made to defend Kamakura to the last. Its land approaches were so strongly fortified as to render it impregnable, but it lies on, and was then open to, the sea. Yoshisada, finding it was impossible to make any impression on it from the land, led his army along the seashore. There he found his way blocked by a *chevaux de frise* which extended down to the water's edge, while off the shore lay a large fleet of boats manned with archers ready to pour a

flank fire on his men. He ascended alone to the summit of the lofty bluff, from the foot of which the *chevaux de frise* extended, and there prayed fervently to the Sea God for help. Then he flung into the sea his sword, the last and greatest treasure of a Samurai, as a votive offering. Next morning he found that the sea had miraculously retreated from the beach with such rapidity as to sweep the fleet of boats far into the offing, and a passage was left dry on the sand which, but a little before, had been covered with deep water. The attack was made and the city taken, though not without a bloody battle that lasted through the whole day, the Hōjō defending themselves to the last and the victors being forced to fight from street to street. The city, with its great triumphs of architecture, was almost entirely destroyed, and little but smouldering ashes remained of all the beauty and magnificence of Yoritomo's proud capital which, since his death, had grown into the first city in the Empire, and under the beneficent administration of the early Hōjō, had become the home of all that was best in art and literature, in the refinement and luxury of life, as well as of trade and industry of a degree of prosperity that had never hitherto been known in the Empire.

No more mercy was shown by the conquerors to the Hōjō than by the Minamoto to the beaten Taira a hundred and fifty years before. Men, women and children were pitilessly slaughtered wherever they could be found, and the burning city was a holocaust with more than a hundred thousand charred corpses. The last chapter of this story is redolent of gruesome horror, but a vivid reflection of the Samurai spirit that scorns surrender to a conquering foe and cherishes a fealty to the feudal lord that is only ended by death.

Takatoki, idle voluptuary though he was, in no way failed in the martial spirit of his ancestors, and however

worthless he had been as a governor or a general, he showed in the final struggle that he was a brave soldier and a worthy Samurai. His palace was defended to the last. Then, driven out of it, fighting as he retreated, he took refuge in a temple which was the family burying-ground of the Hōjō. A thousand of his officers and men followed him, and the whole body gathered as the evening shades were falling in the great hall of the temple. One officer, Takashigi, resolved to try fortune once more. With a hundred volunteers, all of whom had discarded their banners and crested armour, he sallied forth, and in the darkness mingled with the victors to seek and slay their commander, Yoshisada. Just as they were at the point of reaching him, they were recognized and surrounded by more than a thousand of his staff and escort. They fought with desperation. Takashigi was disarmed, but he seized one of the enemy's generals and flung him from his horse, and then burst through the line of horsemen around him and rode back to the temple. All the rest fell. When he reached the temple, Takatoki was just pledging his followers in a farewell cup. Takashigi took the cup, drained it twice, then committed *hara-kiri,* and pulled out his bowels with his own hand. "This is a nice dish," said another officer, laughing, and followed his example.

There was one officer among them whose niece was Yoshisada's wife. She sent a message to him asking him to surrender and promising that his life should be spared. "My niece," he said, "is the daughter of a Samurai. How could she speak in such a shameless manner? How is it that Yoshisada did not stop her?" Then he folded her letter on his sword and plunged both into his stomach and died with the others. Then Takatoki and his followers all killed themselves, and the line of the Hōjō was ended. They had already been exterminated in the West by Takauji and Masahige, and

whatever fugitives of the clan could be found throughout the country were killed without pity or mercy.

One chapter in their story has not yet been told—that of the attempted invasion of Japan by the great Mongol Emperor, Kublai Khan, who, having conquered the whole of China, was now ambitious to bring the Island Empire under his sway, to make it the acknowledged tributary of China. He had, it must be admitted, other reasons for bringing his military strength to bear on Japan than those of mere personal ambition. The Japanese were brave and adventurous sailors, and those of the western coasts, far away at all times in those days from the restraining hands of their own government, and in the turmoil of civil wars, able to indulge in licence at their own will, found that piracy was their most profitable trade. Kiyomori, in his youth, had suppressed it in the Inland Sea, but it continued to live and flourish in the Japan and China seas, and the whole coast of China was so constantly harried by the incursions of Japanese pirates that the inhabitants lived in almost daily dread of their appearance. Kublai Khan's first demands, made in a letter sent through Korea, were that this piracy should be discontinued, but as no notice was taken of his letter, he followed it up by sending an embassy whose instructions were to demand the payment of tribute by Japan. Tokimune, the seventh of the Hōjō, had all the vigour and determination as well as the ability of his predecessors. He was a bold soldier, a bold huntsman, overflowing with physical courage, and at the same time a scholar and a strict and impartial administrator of justice, full of patriotic pride in the country he ruled. Such a man was the very last to submit to the arrogance of any foreigner, however great and powerful he might be. He considered the demands an insult, and ordered that the embassy should be sent back to China without being admitted either into his own pre-

sence at Kamakura or to that of the Emperor at Kioto. Five more embassies met with the same reception. None was allowed to continue the journey further than Kiushiu where each landed. Then Kublai Khan tried the experiment of a small expedition to Tsushima, the island lying in the straits of Korea, midway between Japan and Korea, an acknowledged part of the Japanese Empire. The expedition was driven back with heavy loss. This was at the close of the year 1274. In the following year, another embassy consisting of nine envoys came, and as the envoys refused to return to their own country without a formal answer to their demand, Tokimune caused them to be arrested and brought to Kamakura, where they were decapitated on the common execution ground. Four years passed, and then another embassy was sent, only to meet with the same fate, on this occasion at their landing-place. The indignation of the great Emperor of China was now thoroughly roused, as it well might be, and he determined to make the audacious islanders, the breeders of pirates and violators of the laws of nations, pay the penalty of their misdeeds. He spent two years in preparing a huge armada of more than three hundred great ships. In them an army of a hundred thousand men was embarked, and the whole set sail for Japan.

The Japanese had full warning of all his preparations and of the sailing of the fleet, and on their side had not been remiss. Fortunately, the country enjoyed domestic peace. Tokimune ruled with a firm hand, his authority was undisputed, his popularity great through the whole country and all his orders were promptly obeyed. Troops were dispatched to Kiushiu, the western defences of the island strengthened and a fleet of ships put in commission. But the Japanese ships were smaller than the Chinese, and while the Chinese were armed with great catapults, capable of hurling huge stones with

precision and force, in the use of which the crews were thoroughly trained, the Japanese, until they came to close quarters, had no weapons but their arrows to rely on. Their skill and experience as sailors were, on the other hand, far in advance of the Chinese, and their ships, if small, were more easily handled than the towering war junks of China.

The Japanese compare the story of Kublai Khan's attempted invasion with that of the Spanish Armada, and a strong similarity appears in all the details of both stories, excepting only the execution of the ambassadors, as they are told from the conception on the side of the continental sovereigns of the first ideas of the invasions down to the final catastrophes in which both ended. Tokimune was not, like Elizabeth, legitimately the supreme ruler of his country, but he was like her in all the individual characteristics that could be common in persons of opposite sex. Both Philip of Spain and Kublai Khan equipped what each thought an invincible armada to exterminate a nest of insolent pirates and bring to their feet an island country of infinitely inferior resources to their own. In both cases the resolution, skill and valour of the defenders might perhaps have failed had not the forces of nature come at an opportune moment to their assistance, and in both the disaster which fell upon the invaders was wholesale and complete.

The Chinese fleet sailed slowly across the seas which, in our own day, have witnessed the destruction of the Russian fleet. Its voyage was not uninterrupted. The light Japanese ships hung on its outskirts as it neared the shores of Japan, just as the English did on the Spanish fleet while it made its way up the Channel, and succeeded in inflicting some loss while suffering none themselves. But still the great fleet kept on its way, and finally anchored off the coast of Kiushiu.

There it lay close to the shore, the ships anchored in a long line and fastened together with chains. From the towers the catapults discharged huge stones on the Japanese defences on the shore, endeavouring to clear the way for a landing, but however powerless the Japanese were against the ships, their swordsmen at close quarters were more than a match for the bravest Tartar spearsmen that endeavoured to climb over the defences, and every attempt at landing was beaten back with heavy loss to the invaders. Prayers for help and the protection of the divine country, peopled with their descendants, had been offered to the Gods. The Emperor, Go Uda (1274–1288), fifteen years of age at the time, had gone in person to the sacred shrines of Ise to implore his divine ancestress the Sun Goddess's aid. The prayers were answered. The season at which the monsoon changes had arrived, and the change is usually prefaced by a typhoon, the most terrible form of storm that sweeps the seas in any part of the world, which nowhere rages with greater violence than along the coast of Western and Southern Kiushiu. One burst upon the great fleet as it lay at anchor in close order, unable to manœuvre or make its way from the shores. The ships were hurled together and shattered and sunk at their anchors. The sea was blocked with bodies of their crews. Those that escaped from the anchorage fell upon the unknown rocks that line the coast everywhere, and the Japanese ships, issuing from the harbours and inlets where they had lain securely hidden throughout the storm, completed the destruction of those that escaped the rocks, the ships crippled and shattered and the crews demoralized. Of all the grand armada that had so proudly sailed from China a few months before, only three persons, the sole survivors, returned to tell their story to the Emperor. The lesson derived from the whole story by the Japanese historian is one that the Japanese apply to themselves at

the present day. "The secret of victory and of defeat lies in the spirit of men, and not in their weapons. We have a quality in which we naturally excel, and in that we should put our trust." The glory of this great exploit, the services which they rendered to the nation in their civil government, the equally great personal virtues of many members of the dynasty have not given the Hōjō a place in the affectionate memories of their countrymen. Their merits were insufficient to atone for their wicked treason to their Emperors. All their benevolence, all their mercies, all their self-denial, were but penances for their great wickedness, and "their fall was a just retribution for their offences to both Gods and men."

CHAPTER IX

THE ASHIKAGA SHŌGUNS

THE ostensible cause of the war which terminated in the downfall of the Hōjō was the restoration of the Emperor to his legitimate position as *de facto* as well as *de jure* Sovereign of the Empire, and the abolition of the dual form of government founded by Yoritomo. It was the same cause as that which brought about the overthrow of the Tokugawas in 1868 and the restoration of the present Emperor, but its results were different. In 1868 the cause was loyally supported to the end by those who successfully fought for it, and the Imperial Government was firmly established. In the fourteenth century the treachery and self-seeking of one man counteracted all the loyalty and devotion of those who had hoped to see the revival of the ancient *régime* of their country, and their Sovereign once more exercising in person the supreme control of its affairs from his ancient capital in Kioto. The only result was to rivet the fetters of the Emperor more firmly, and to establish on a more secure and permanent basis the administration of a new line of military usurpers.

The Emperor Go Daigo was once more on his throne at Kioto, and there was neither Shōgun nor Shikken to take the power out of his hands, while the Fujiwara, the great family of the Court, who without any backing of military strength had, by moral force, by the triumph of strong over weak characters, rendered his predecessors from the seventh to the twelfth century mere fainéants, though

they were still vested with all the dignity and influence that flow from rank and ancient lineage in an aristocratic country such as Japan, had been too long bereft of all political power to make themselves now an independent factor able to make its influence felt to the detriment of their sovereign's prerogative. The Emperor himself had also shown qualities of industry, courage and statesmanship that could be found in few of his predecessors throughout the antecedent periods of the usurpation of the Taira, Minamoto and Hōjō. Exile, however, had not improved him, and after the years of suffering and want through which he had passed he yielded to the temptations of the luxury and sensualism of the court.

Of the three generals to whom he owed his new fortunes, Masahige and Yoshisada had not only rendered the greatest services to him during the war, but both were faithful to his cause from the first. The third, Takauji, had not only rendered less meritorious service, but was at first among the Emperor's enemies, and became his champion only by acting as a shameless traitor to those who had trusted him and for whom he had promised to fight. But it was on Takauji that the Emperor bestowed the highest rewards, and it was Takauji whom he took into his closest confidence. Cunning, unscrupulous, dissimulating, Takauji soon sowed suspicion in his Imperial master's ears of his best friends, and then, feeling sure of that master's compliance with any request he might prefer, and lord himself, by the Emperor's gifts of the forfeited domains of the Hōjō, of the Provinces of Kuantō, with all the powerful military strength that lordship gave him, he claimed from the Emperor the revival of the Shōgunate in his favour, alleging that it was his due as a descendant of the Minamoto family, the family who were the first to hold the office. The grant of this claim would have undone everything that had been gained by the war—

it would have been merely the transfer of the power held and exercised by the Hōjō to the Ashikaga—and it was refused by the Emperor. Then Takauji resolved to take by force what he had been refused by favour, and marched on Kioto with a large army. Too late the Emperor learned that a man who has shown himself a traitor once is likely to do so a second time when temptation comes. But he also learned that true loyalty, founded on no vulgar self-ambition, is proof against ingratitude and the consciousness of unrequited merit. Yoshisada and Masahige, whom he had rewarded so inadequately, whom he had remitted into the cold shades of disfavour while he was fawned on by Takauji, once more took up arms on his behalf, as they had done to free him from the tyranny of the Hōjō. The issue was fought out on the banks of the Minatogawa, the site of Kiyomori's palace, close to the scene of the battle of Ichi no Tani one hundred and fifty-two years before, where Yoshitsune gained his first great triumph over the Taira. Takauji, by superior generalship, contrived to get between the two divisions of the Imperial army, commanded respectively by Yoshisada and Masahige, with an army far superior in numbers to the aggregate of both, and destroyed both in turn. At the end of the battle, Masahige, with seventy-two of his followers, all wounded like himself, withdrew into a farmer's house near the battlefield, and there, disdaining to yield when escape was hopeless, died in the usual Samurai fashion. Just as Yamatodake and Yoshitsune are looked upon as noble types of Japanese chivalry, so is Masahige regarded to this day as the highest and noblest model that Japan has produced of the still higher quality of unselfish and devoted loyalty, the quality which, in the Japanese moral code, ranks far above any other, even that of filial piety. Filial piety owes, indeed, its value chiefly to the fact that it is the foundation of the loyalty

that is due to the Emperor. Unless a man respects his parents, how can he respect and obey the Emperor, who is the father of the whole nation? The national reverence for Masahige continues unabated to this day. A statue has been erected in the heart of Tokio by the present generation to his memory, and when one of the great leaders of modern thought in Japan once condemned his final sacrifice of his own life, his cold-blooded criticism was received with universal execration. Yoshisada escaped from the battlefield with six thousand men out of the twenty-five thousand he had led into it. He carried on the war in the west for two more years. One day, when at the head of only fifty men, he was surprised and surrounded by a force of over three thousand. As he charged, in the wild hope of breaking through the lines around him, he was struck by an arrow in the eye. He drew out the arrow, but, being mortally wounded, cut off his own head with his sword. His little band all died with him, and his head was sent to Kioto, where it was publicly pilloried on the prison gate, as had been the heads of many brave men before him. As a loyal and devoted soldier, his memory is only less reverenced than that of Masahige.

Takauji had now overcome all opposition, and was as much master of the situation as Kiyomori after the death of Yoshitomo or Yoritomo after the battle of Dan no Ura. At the head of his victorious army he marched at once on Kioto. The Emperor Go Daigo, whom he had assisted to recover his throne only three years before, to whose gratitude and favour he owed so much of his present wealth and power, who had, on the other hand, offended him by refusing him the title of the Great Shōgun, fled from the capital, taking with him the Imperial regalia, and sought refuge among the hills of Yoshino, as Yoshitsune had done when he fled before the anger of his brother. There the Emperor found a

home in the very same temple that Yoshitsune and Benkei had occupied. The Emperor's rooms still remain as they were when he used them nearly six hundred years ago, and his grave is shown but a little way from the Temple. The flight of the Emperor and the removal of the regalia left the capital without the authority that could alone legalize whatever Takauji chose to do. Every act of his that was not done in the name and with the nominal sanction of the Emperor was that of a rebel, and no pretence could be made to the nominal sanction when the Emperor was a fugitive and in hiding from him who wanted it. Takauji was in the same plight as Yoritomo when the Taira fled from Kioto and Fukuwara to the west, taking with them the young Emperor Antoku and the regalia. Yoritomo awaited the death of the Emperor and the recovery of the regalia before raising a new sovereign to the throne, but Takauji was not so scrupulous. On entering Kioto, he at once declared that Go Daigo's flight was tantamount to abdication, that the throne was vacant, and as dictators, with whom might was right, had done before, he at once nominated to it Prince Kōgen, a son of the previous Emperor, Go Fushimi (1298–1301), and from the new Emperor he obtained for himself the coveted title of Sei-i-Tai-Shōgun, for the sake of which he had proved a traitor to his legitimate sovereign and slaughtered his own friends and allies. A curious constitutional situation was thus created. The fugitive Emperor was in possession of the sacred regalia, and according to all the traditions of the Empire from the most ancient times, whatever member of the Imperial family was in actual possession of the regalia acquired the sovereignty by divine right, and no loyalty was due to one who claimed to be the Emperor and whose claim was not supported by his possession of the outward and visible tokens of his divine sovereignty. On the other

side, the new Emperor held the throne, the palace and the capital with the support and protection of the most powerful military leader in the Empire, whose strength none dared to challenge. This situation continued for nearly sixty years. Throughout all this time there were two rival Imperial dynasties, one called the Northern Dynasty, which continued to reign at Kioto, and to exercise the nominal influence in the affairs of state which was all that the Emperors had done for nearly six centuries. The other, called the Southern Dynasty, retained in its keeping the only true symbols of legitimacy, and remained at Yoshino, with neither real nor nominal influence, in poverty and helplessness, poverty that was not the fiction of a great house unable to maintain itself with the splendour that becomes its dignity, but one that sometimes amounted to the inability to provide the actual necessaries of daily life. In 1393 a reconciliation was effected between the two Imperial houses, and a compromise arranged under which Go Kameyama, the Southern Emperor, surrendered the regalia to Go Komatsu, the Emperor of the Northern Dynasty. There were in all six Emperors of the Northern Dynasty who reigned with outward splendour at Kioto, but history has treated all but the last, who recovered the regalia, as usurpers, and called them the "False Emperors," and the official list of the Sovereigns of Japan ignores their names, and includes only those of the Southern Dynasty, who passed a miserable existence in obscurity at Yoshino.

All the previous Shōguns, from the great Yoritomo down to the helpless children who held the office under the dictatorship of the Hōjō, lived at Kamakura, which was therefore inseparably associated with the office in the minds of the nation. Kamakura had now begun to rise from its ashes, and to give promise of recovering in time some degree at least of its former wealth and

magnificence. It was the capital of the Eastern provinces, from which Takauji derived his wealth and strength, and all the considerations both of sentiment and interest seemed to point to it as his residence and the seat of his government. But he was no halfway reformer. He determined to institute a new *régime*, and building a palace at Muromachi in Kioto, one whose size and splendour threw that of the Emperor far into the shade, he fixed that as the residence of himself and his successors, and nominated a cadet of the family to represent its government at Kamakura. The name of the site of the palace was given to the dynasty, following the custom under which historical characters are often spoken of by their territorial titles rather than by their personal names, and the years in which the Ashikaga Shōguns governed the Empire are therefore frequently mentioned as the Muromachi period in the national history.

Takauji, the founder of the line, lived for twenty years after he attained the summit of his ambition. In previous dynasties, when a Shōgun died, or abdicated, or was deposed, the office remained theoretically vacant until the Emperor made a new nomination of a successor, but another drastic reform made by Takauji was to render the office hereditary in his own family, independently of the Emperor's nomination, and his direct descendants succeeded in turn without going through the formality of asking for or receiving the Imperial sanction. In a country where the Emperor had been always the sole source of all honour and authority, this reform was of a more serious nature than might appear on first glance, and it formed the justification for great territorial nobles in later years to flout and rebel against Takauji's successors. There were in all fourteen Shōguns of his dynasty between 1335 when the office was first conferred on him, and 1573, when the line came

to an end. It would be apart from the scope and intention of this work to give a detailed story of the domestic events in Japan throughout this period. It is one that is full of all the worst horrors of unbroken civil wars, slaughter, plunder, burning, national want and misery among all classes, high as well as of low degree; and it is redeemed by none of the chivalrous and heroic figures, by none of the noble acts which brightened the dark periods of the wars of the Gempei or the overthrow of the Hōjō. Territorial nobles were at constant feud among themselves. Every one desired to increase his own domains at the expense of his neighbour, and he could only do that by the sword. The power and wealth of the most powerful and wealthy among them steadily increased, while the weaker disappeared from the face of the land. At the close of the dynasty there were many feudal chiefs whose strength was equal or even superior to that of the Ashikaga, and who were able to treat the usurping government with insolent contemptuousness. Another great and growing influence that made itself felt as a political factor was that of the Buddhist priesthood, whose members combined the occupations of warriors and priests. Their monasteries were converted into fortresses, and their members were as expert in wielding the sword and lance as they were in interpreting the sacred books. Mount Hiyei, a few miles to the north of Kioto, on whose slopes and summit there were more than three thousand monasteries, was a huge fortified camp, and the alliance of the priests was eagerly sought for by rival factions, and was often sufficient to turn the scale in favour of the side to which it was given. Many of the territorial nobles, in addition to the fortresses on their own domains, maintained palaces at Kioto, which also partook largely of the character of fortresses, and the peace of the capital was often broken by brawls among their retainers. In some

cases the streets became the scene of a great battle in which the whole strength of two rival clans was engaged, and between the two the sufferings of the unfortunate citizens, whose lives were as little secure as their property, were pitiable. Driven from their burning houses, they were forced to seek safety in flight through a crowd of infuriated clansmen, mad with the lust of blood, and they were fortunate indeed if they escaped, the men with life and the women with honour, having lost all their worldly goods, destitute and homeless, knowing not where to find either food or shelter. Mediæval Rome or Edinburgh under the early Stuarts were sanctuaries of peace and security as compared with Kioto in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Similar conditions occurred at different periods throughout the whole Empire; Kamakura and every feudal town were all, in their turn, battlefields. Town and country were alike in turn wasted; agriculture was neglected when farmers felt no certainty of either life or property, and famine and pestilence followed, amid which the people died like flies. While such was the internal disorder, no control could be observed on Japanese beyond the seas. Piracy became rampant, and the coasts of China and Korea were once more harried without mercy, as they had been a hundred times before. There were, of course, brief interludes of peace when exhaustion induced rival clans to lay down their arms for a while, or the extermination of one enabled its conquerors to tranquillize its own and its acquired domains. Then the country got some breathing time, and with the wonderful capacity for rising from misfortune which the Japanese possess both individually and nationally, the people would recover in some degree from their material degradation, but when war broke out again, as it invariably did, the same story of butchery and rapine was repeated with all its gruesome details. Twice under the Ashikaga, the Eastern

capital, Kamakura, met with the same fate it had done at the overthrow of the Hōjō, and from its last downfall, which occurred in 1524, when the Ashikaga were also drawing near their close, it never recovered.

A list of the Ashikaga Shōguns will be found in the Appendix. Few of them need be mentioned here, though some were men of strong character, who, while they lived, succeeded in preserving some semblance of peace and order. Yoshimitsu, the third of the line, governed with justice and firmness. In his youth he had the advantage of a capable and honest guardian, by whom his character was trained so that he became a strong and determined governor when he arrived at manhood, able to keep the turbulent nobles in check and maintain peace. But his pride and love of display led him into a step which has brought on his memory the execration of his countrymen. Not satisfied with the great title of Shōgun, with other honours bestowed on him by the Emperor, he aspired to the dignity of royalty. Even he could not dare to trespass on the exclusive honours of the Imperial crown, so he assumed the title of king, one till then and since unknown in Japan, and in order to procure his recognition as such he paid a large sum to the Emperor of China. The ostensible reason for payment was that of indemnity for losses which the subjects of the Emperor of China had suffered from the depredations of the Japanese pirates, but the Chinese accepted it as tribute, and Japan was thenceforward included among their tributary kingdoms. The very thought of this national humiliation is to this day sufficient to stir the indignation of the mildest and gentlest peace-lover among the subjects of the Tennō.

It was under the Ashikaga that Japan made her first acquaintance with Europeans and that Christianity found a foothold in the Empire, the story of which will be told in a later chapter in this work. What is now to

be told is that of the influence which the Ashikaga exercised on the development of national art, which under their encouragement received an impetus that has caused this period of history to be called the golden age of Japanese art.

Whatever were the disorder and misery of the Empire, the Ashikaga always contrived to live in luxury and splendour in their palaces at Kioto. Many of them possessed literary and artistic tastes and capacity of a high order, and when, following the national custom of every class from the Court downwards, a Shōgun of their line abdicated in favour of his son, his later years of ease and irresponsibility were spent in the society of artists and *literati*, and in the cultivation of their best talents. Yoshinori, the sixth of the line, was himself a poet and historian. To Yoshimasa, the eighth, are due the graceful ceremonies of the Cha no Yu, or tea-drinking, the highest development of æsthetic refinement in the social customs of Japan, which to this day are observed in the noblest society, in the Imperial Court itself, with the same reverential formality that they were in the time of their first great patron. The lovely monastery of Ginkakuji, the silver pavilion, the roof of which was once sheathed in pure silver, was built by him, as a garden summer-house in which he could practise the ceremonies he loved in the midst of all that was most beautiful in art and nature; and the pictures, the work of the best artists of China and Japan, which adorn the ceiling and walls of the pavilion, testify to Yoshimasa's critical skill and taste. The Kinkakuji, or golden pavilion, an equally beautiful monastery in another part of Kioto, where not only the roof but the pillars, rafters and ceiling were all sheathed in gold, was built by Yoshimitsu as a retreat for his old age, and it is even richer in pictorial treasures than Ginkakuji. Not far from it is Toji-in, another monastery

founded by Takauji, which contains effigies of all the Ashikaga Shōguns, modelled by contemporary artists, and presumably, therefore, faithful representations of what the originals were in life.

The greatest painters that Japan has ever produced were all born and lived and worked under the Ashikaga. They include Josetsu, Mutsunobu, Cho Densu, Sesshu, Mitsuhige, and the two great classical painters of the Kano school, Masanobu and Motonobu, all names as worthily venerated in Japan as are those of Raphael, Titian, Rubens and Murillo by lovers of art in Europe. Gotō, the founder of the art of damascening weapons and armour, the art which has given to us the beautiful sword guards and ornaments that are the joy of modern European art collectors, and himself the greatest master of the art, died in 1513 at the age of seventy-eight; but neither sculpture nor carving seems to have appealed to the æsthetic perception of the Ashikaga, as their age is practically destitute of great representatives of the two arts, many masters in which lived and worked in other periods of the history. The most classic form of drama, the Nō, was for the first time introduced into Kioto, and it was taken under the special patronage of Yoshimochi, the fourth Shōgun, under whom it acquired such favour that it never subsequently failed in the fascination it exercised over the nobles and most cultivated classes of the Empire. To the present day representations of the plays are given at the Imperial palace by the direct lineal descendants of the very actors who performed them more than five hundred years ago in the palace of the Ashikaga at Kioto. The stage of to-day is the exact model of that on which they were first performed, with the same decorations, the same absence of scenery or mechanical effects. Masks are amongst the essential properties of the Nō performances, and the wonderful skill which the Japanese show in

modelling these masks is largely due to their desire to produce those whose artistic merits would be worthy of the classic objects for which they were required. Artists in lacquer, in ceramics, in landscape gardening—all three closely associated with the celebration of the Cha no Yu—may also be mentioned as among those who reflected honour on their patrons, under whose protection they were able to work in safety, to give with tranquil minds their whole thought to their labours of love, while around them were ruin and desolation.

CHAPTER X

NOBUNAGA—THE BUDDHIST PERSECUTOR

THE three last Shōguns of the Ashikaga line were Yoshiharu (1521–1545), Yoshiteru (1546–1567), and Yoshiaki (1568–1573). Like the sons of Yoritomo and the last of the Hōjō, all three gave way to idleness and self-indulgence in the society of favourites as destitute of industry and ability as themselves, and left the interests of the state entirely in the hands of their ministers and advisers. The germ of the disease, which caused the official deaths of Minamoto Semman and Hōjō Takatoki, had entered into their system and it was destined to have the same fatal effects upon their dynasty as it had on the Minamoto and Hōjō. In Yoshiteru, the usual delinquencies were intensified, and two of his ministers, Miyoshi Yoshitsugu and Matsunaga Hisahide, rose in rebellion against him. Yoshiteru made a feeble attempt to resist them, but was defeated, and he, his family and his retainers were all killed. His younger brother, Yoshiaki, who escaped the massacre by taking refuge in a monastery in Omi, was now his legitimate heir. Unable to enforce his rights, he applied for help to several of the territorial princes, and among them to Ota Nobunaga. The latter took up his cause, and marching on Kioto, attacked and defeated the rebels with a much larger army than their own, and then installed Yoshiaki in his hereditary office as Shōgun. It is with Nobunaga that we have now to deal. With him opens an entirely new chapter in our story, and

Yoshiaki may be dismissed with a few words. His effigy in Toji-in represents a sensual, unintelligent type of countenance, and his career as Shōgun was such as might be expected from a man of weak and vicious character. It only lasted five years. Then Nobunaga, his protector, to whom he owed his dignity, lost patience with him and deposed him. He again took refuge in a monastery, and lived for twenty-six years afterwards, retaining to the last, even in his monastic imprisonment, the title of Shōgun, but interfering no more in state affairs. The long line of the Ashikaga Shōguns came to an end with his deposition, having lasted in all for 238 years. This was in the year 1573.

The Ota family were said to be descended from the Taira. Their paternal ancestor was killed at Dan no Ura, but his wife escaped from the general massacre with her child to the province of Omi, where she married again. The child grew up and is said to have become a Shintō priest and the founder of a family of Shintō priests. Be the truth of this story as it may, Nobunaga's father forsook the priesthood and adopted the calling of arms, and was so successful as a soldier, at a period when success in arms was rewarded by territorial grants, that he became the prince of a small fief in Owari. The father died in 1549, leaving the fief to his son, who was then sixteen years of age. It was almost the worst period of national disorder under the Ashikaga, one which gave abundant opportunity to a man of courage, decision and military genius, and Nobunaga, who possessed all these qualities, who, in addition was assisted from the beginning of his career by four officers in his service of scarcely less genius than himself, one of whom afterwards showed infinitely greater genius, was able to extend his patrimony so rapidly, that before ten years elapsed he was undisputed master of the whole of the province of Owari. Thence, he

gradually extended his domains until they included four other provinces, and before 1568, when the fugitive Shōgun Yoshiaki appealed for his help, the soldier who started as the lord of a small and insignificant fief was, in his strength and resources, one of the most powerful feudal chiefs in the Empire, and his own personal qualities combined with those resources to render him unquestionably the foremost among them all. The career of Yoritomo was before him as a precedent of what might be achieved by a brave and competent general, backed by a strong military force, confident in and devoted to their leader, and Nobunaga now saw in the future the day when he, too, might become as much the master of the Empire as Yoritomo was in his lifetime.

All our story so far derives its material from Japanese sources. Europeans had now made their appearance in Japan, mercantile adventurers in the first case, shortly to be followed by missionaries, who have left vivid descriptions of the events in Japan of which they were actual witnesses, of the great historical characters who were contemporary with them, and of the daily life and industry of the people, and as their descriptions harmonize with those of the native writers, when due allowance is made for the different points of view from which events and personages were regarded by Europeans and natives, they may be relied upon as being fairly accurate. It is mainly from their writings that the rest of our story will be summarized. The earliest is the "History of the Church in Japan," the story told by the Jesuit Fathers of their missionary labours in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the next is the "History of Japan," by Kaempfer, the physician to the Dutch Factory at Nagasaki. Both works are full of the most absorbing interest. The Jesuit Fathers tell of what they saw, of what they experienced themselves, in language as graphic as their experiences were thrilling.

Kaempfer tells what he saw, and also gives a profound and philosophic study of the nation, so complete as to render his work, first published in England nearly 200 years ago, inaccurate though it is in some of its inferences, still among the very best books of the many thousands that have been written on Japan.

The Jesuit Fathers had the most ample opportunities of studying the character of Nobunaga, and, as he is the first great personage in Japanese history whose portrait has been drawn by Europeans, we shall quote what the Fathers say of him in full—

"Nobunaga was a Prince of large stature, but of a weak and delicate complexion, which made him appear less fit to support the toil and fatigues of War. Nevertheless, he had a heart and soul that infinitely supplied all other wants, and was naturally ambitious above all mankind. He was both brave, generous and bold, and not without many excellent moral virtues, being of his own humour inclined to Justice and a sworn enemy to all Treason. He was endued with a quick and penetrating wit, and seemed cut out for business. Above all he properly excelled in military discipline, and was generally esteemed the fittest to command an Army, or to manage a siege, or to fortify a town, or to mark out a Camp of any general in Japan. He never used any other head in his Councils but his own. For if he asked advice, it was more to know their hearts, than to profit by their thoughts. He practised inviolably the Counsel of those hypocrites who teach that one ought to see into others, but never to lay himself open; for the most refined Politicians could never dive into his counsels, for very private and secret was he in his designs. As for the Worship of the Gods, he laughed and ridiculed it, being thoroughly convinced that the Bonzes (Buddhist priests) were nothing but Impostors, and for the most part wicked men that abused the people's innocent simplicity, and screened their own debauches under the specious veil of Religion."

The battle in which Nobunaga—he was not present himself; his army was under the command of Shibata, one of his four great generals, scarcely less distinguished than himself—defeated the two ministers who deposed

and murdered the Shōgun, Yoshiteru, took place at Sakai, a few miles to the south of Osaka, then a flourishing seaport, the seat of all the shipping trade of the southern provinces of the Main Island, now a still more flourishing manufacturing town, with large carpet-weaving and cutlery industries. In the time of Nobunaga Sakai was the seat of one of the most successful of the Jesuit missions in Japan. The Fathers of the church there were actual witnesses of the battle and have left a very vivid description of it, which, as it is the first described by Europeans, long though it is, is worthy of being quoted in full—

"After the truce was expired, the two Armies marched out of the Camps, and drew up in line of battle. Yoshitsugu commanded the right, and Hisahide the left. Both of them marched through the ranks exhorting their men to signalize themselves this day, on which depended an Empire. They represented to them that Shibata had only a handful of raw and inexperienced men, that Nobunaga, having the Shōgun in his power, made this only a sconce for his ambition, being certainly resolved to put him to death and seize on his estates, by the ruin of those that now stood between him and Conquest; that being a most bloody and ambitious tyrant, no quarter was to be expected, and so they must either conquer or die.

"Shibata, being a great captain, drew up his army into two lines and animated his men to revenge the death of their master,[1] the best of Princes, whom these two barbarous and unnatural rebels had assassinated, because he had no more favours to bestow on them besides the Crown itself, which they resolved to purchase with the price of his blood. That the same was intended against Yoshiaki, his brother and only heir to the Crown, to divide the Empire of Japan amongst themselves, that this young Prince's fortune depended on their valour; that if they gained the battle there was no favour which they might not expect from him, seeing that he would stand indebted to them for both his Crown and Life.

"Shibata, seeing his men resolute and determined, marched

[1] Yoshiteru.

straight against the enemy, who was also well advanced to receive him. The shock was very rude and bloody, and the victory for a long time seemed doubtful, for the two rebels, seeing life and death depended on the action, played the parts of great Captains and soldiers. Shibata, on his part, flew on every side to give necessary orders, and though his Army in number proved far inferior to the Enemy, yet they far surpassed them in valour and courage.

"The victory, being very dubious for some time and Shibata's men beginning to give way, he marched up with a body of reserve, and fell upon Yoshitsugu's right wing with such resolution that he broke through the Cavalry and put the Infantry into an absolute rout.

"The two rebels, seeing their men upon the flight, followed sword in hand and forced them to wheel about. The Cavalry also rallying again, returned to the charge, and the combat was immediately revived. Shame and confusion for the late disgrace spurred on the rebels to repair their honour. The others, on the contrary, puffed up with the late success, looked upon them as already conquered. In effect, after a slight skirmish they took to their heels, and the vanguard, falling upon the rear, put all to confusion. It was then nothing else but a downright butchery and slaughter; and as Shibata aimed principally at the two Rebel commanders, he followed close and charged in the rear; but they, by the help of good horses, saved themselves in the woods and thence retreated into their forts.

"Most of their troops cried out for quarter, and went over to Shibata; the rest were all put to the sword."

Both armies included in their ranks many Christians, the battle took place on Christmas Day, and a touching story is told by one of the Fathers of the way in which the eve was celebrated. The head of the church invited the faithful on both sides, as the two armies, preparatory to the battle, lay in front of each other near Sakai, to attend the church and assist in the celebration of the High Mass on Christmas Eve, which is a solemn function in the Roman Catholic Church. The Christian officers and soldiers of both sides, who, on the morrow, were to engage in deadly combat, came to the Mass together as brethren, prepared for and partook of the Holy Sacrament, and before they parted to return to

their camps, "to show that they had all one heart," they brought dishes of fruit and ate them together at the Fathers' table.

Established at Kioto, with the Emperor in his power, Nobunaga was able to pursue the conquest of the rest of the Empire, not as an adventurer seeking rank and wealth and glory for himself and his followers, but as the accredited minister and general of the only legitimate sovereign, aiming in the Sovereign's name to restore the centralized Government and to secure the ultimate unification and peace of the Empire now split up into numerous petty kingdoms, all professing to recognize the overlordship of the Emperor, but all disdaining to acknowledge his authority as exercised in his name and for him by his ministers; all, in fact, claiming the most complete executive independence in both the domestic and external affairs of their fiefs. Success followed him everywhere. It is not necessary to recount the successive victories achieved by himself or his generals, or how in detail he subdued all the great feudal chiefs in the north and centre of the Main Island, and we must be content in saying that before his death more than half of the whole Empire acknowledged his authority and was in his power. He increased his own domains so that he became the most powerful feudal prince in the Empire, his fiefs comprising many of the richest provinces, and he rewarded the generals who served him well with the forfeited estates of his beaten foes, so as to make them only less powerful chiefs than himself. With all his wealth, power and influence, he never solicited from the Emperor nor assumed himself the title of "Tai Shōgun," so that he continued to be only the nominal equal in rank of other great feudal princes and therefore gave to those who did not oppose him no reason for either jealousy or suspicion that he aimed at the tyrannical dictatorship of Yoritomo.

One of his campaigns—it might rather be called a

crusade—has to be made an exception to our intenti of not entering into the military details of his life su sequent to the battle of Sakai.

The great power of the Buddhist priesthood, t fortresses which they held under the guise of temple the military strength which they maintained in th service have been already indicated. The contempt which Nobunaga held the Buddhist religion and prie is shown in his portrait by the Jesuit Fathers. T priests cordially returned his hatred, sided with l enemies wherever they could, and thwarted his pla with all the religious influence they could bring to be which among a people, deeply impressed with the trut of the gospel of Buddhism, who could take no seric steps without the priestly blessing, was naturally lar Nobunaga showed his contempt for Buddhism in manner that was both spiteful and petty, not at all keeping with the general greatness and magnanim of his character. When he became master of Kioto 1565 and was building a palace for his own occu tion, he not only pulled down monasteries to make ro for it, but used as building materials the stone id and the wainscoting of temples that he spared fr total destruction, and he made the unhappy priests Kioto and its suburbs drag their own sacred imag with ropes through the streets to the site, where th saw them ruthlessly broken and fitted to the walls a rooms of the new palace. It may be easily imagin how this wanton desecration and outrage on the holi sentiments of the best of the priests intensified t hatred which they already bore to him and made th more than ever his implacable foes. Apart from Nob naga's own personal feelings, he had ample groun which would have justified any statesman, which wou have indeed even compelled a statesman honest desirous to ensure the peace and orderly governme of his country, to break the power of the priests, ev

though he himself was a conscientious member of their Church.

The great monasteries and fortress of Mount Hiyei, the greatest in the country, have already been mentioned. The priests and their men-at-arms there were a terror to Kioto at all times in which it was not under the direct protection of a great and powerful military leader. Not only were they wont to sweep down and levy requisitions on the city, but, commanding as they did the high road which led from it to the north and east, they could at any moment cut off all its land communications. In the rising town of Osaka there was another great fortress monastery, which commanded the whole town, and was the refuge of Nobunaga's enemies from every part of the Empire. There his beaten foes could interchange their sentiments of hatred with the priests, and both vow together to give their lives and influence to vengeance on the tyrant and infidel who was the author of their own and their Church's wrongs. The political and military power of the priests, both materially great, was intensified by their religious influence and their own sacred character, which often saved them from the penalties that were exacted without mercy or scruple from men-at-arms of the ordinary laity. All combined to render the priesthood an important political factor, a serious menace to the peaceful government of the state. Nobunaga determined to end it for ever.

After the battle of Sakai the lives of Yoshitsugu and Hisahide were spared, but they were reduced to poverty and obscurity by the confiscation of their estates, money and offices. Nobunaga misjudged their influence and character. They were again able to raise an army and attack him, but were again defeated. This time they fled to the monks of Hiyei, by whom they were welcomed and sheltered. Nobunaga had now the opportunity for which he longed. He called his generals

together and announced to them his intention of destroying the Hiyei monasteries and all they sheltered. At first his generals were horrified at what they considered sacrilege—the destruction of a national religious foundation which had existed over 800 years; but they could not long withstand one who had been their master and guide through all their lives. The mountain was suddenly invested on all sides with an immense army, so closely that not a soul could pass from it.

"The Bonzes, much surprised, endeavoured to appease him by a great sum of money. Nobunaga sent back word to defend themselves, for he valued neither their money nor their wealth. Then they laid before him the sanctity of the place, alleging it most unlawful of him to come thither in hostile manner, without evidently incurring the anger of the Gods. The Gods (replied Nobunaga) will defend you if you prove their friends; if you are not, I am come to revenge their quarrel. Seeing neither remonstrances nor promises took effect, they interposed the authority and interest of the Kubo and Dairi,[1] but Nobunaga would hearken to no accommodation; on the contrary, he burnt Sakamoto with two other villages at the foot of the mountain, and by favour of the smoke his men climbed up the rocks, entered the fortress, and put all to fire and sword. They made a horrible slaughter of these false priests. Some, indeed, precipitated themselves from the rocks, others took sanctuary in their temples, and others hid themselves in grottos and caves; but Nobunaga had concerted his business so well that not one of them escaped. He set fire to the Temple of the God Kwannon, which had cost immensely, and burnt all the other Temples and Monasteries; in a word, he put his men into every hole and cave, as if he had been in chase of some wild beasts, and there butchered these miserable wretches. Thus God punished these enemies of his glory on St. Michael's Day in the year 1571."

Mount Hiyei being thus destroyed, the great fortress of Osaka had next to be dealt with. Here there could

[1] Kubo and Dairi were the terms most frequently used by the Fathers to describe the Shōgun and the Emperor. The political insignificance into which the latter had fallen is shown by the fact of placing his title after that of his vassal, the Shōgun.

be no surprise. The warrior priests knew that the fate of their brethren of Hiyei threatened them, and were ready to meet Nobunaga's assault whenever he might come. Three times within four years he laid siege to it, on each occasion in vain. Once, when the garrison was reduced to great straits, they attempted to relieve themselves of the burthen of supporting the old men, women and children, who were in the fortress, by sending them out under the cover of a stormy night. The wretched fugitives fell into the hands of the besieging army, and the garrison was informed that they had done so by receiving on the following morning the gruesome token of their ears which had been cut off by their captors. Both sides were in time wearied and exhausted. A compromise was effected by the terms of which the monks were allowed to retreat and find a new home in Yechizen, and the castle surrendered to Nobunaga. This was in the year 1580. In the following year Nobunaga determined to subdue Mori, the Lord of all the Western provinces of the Main Island, who still refused to acknowledge his authority, who had given at least his sympathy to the priests in their struggles, and Hideyoshi was entrusted with the task. Mori was a powerful foe, and Nobunaga denuded himself of all his available troops and remained at Kioto, with nothing but a small bodyguard for his own protection, in order that Hideyoshi, now the greatest of his generals, could take the field with an overwhelming force. One division of the army, the last to leave the capital, was commanded by Akechi Mitsuhide, "a soldier of fortune, valiant and brave, a perfect courtier," who was a personal favourite of his prince, and who had been enfeoffed by him with the province of Tango and Mount Hiyei, the home of the priests. Nobunaga had the most implicit trust and confidence in his loyalty; but he had bitterly, though unconsciously, offended him at a carousal in the palace in the presence of courtiers and soldiers. Nobunaga,

in festive humour, took his head under his arm and beat it with his fan as though playing a drum. The incident was probably forgotten by Nobunaga the next day, but it rankled in the heart of Akechi, who waited for an opportunity of revenge. The opportunity had now come. Instead of continuing his march to the West, he wheeled back on Kioto. At first he appeased the curiosity of his officers as to this unexpected manœuvre by saying he was acting under secret orders, but he finally disclosed and won them over to his plan by the hopes of plunder and by calling for revenge for the slaughtered priests of God. A forced night march was made and the army entered Kioto at dawn. Nobunaga, who "foolishly imagined himself above any attempt of fortune which suddenly proved his ruin," had just risen from his bed and was actually washing his face when news was brought to him that his palace was invested. He opened the sliding windows of his room and looked out, to see the yard full of soldiers and to find himself the target for a shower of arrows. Wounded he rushed for his sword, but a crowd of the traitorous soldiers poured into the room and soon all was over. It is unknown whether he died by his own or by the rebels' swords, as the palace was burnt, but whatever it was, he met a Samurai's death, brave and unflinching to the last. A young page, the son of the Lord of Mino, stood by him with his guard and valiantly defended him, but all—page and guard—perished with him. This was on the 22nd of June, 1582. Shortly before his death, in an excess of pride, he proclaimed himself a God. It was perhaps only anticipating a divinity which would have been conferred on him by his countrymen after his death, among whom the apotheosis of human heroes has been a custom from the dawn of history to the present day; but for a hero, no matter how great, to arrogate it in his lifetime is, to say the least, unusual. At Azuchi, in the province of Omi, on the shores of

Lake Biwa, he had already built a great castle which was a storehouse of his treasure. To the castle he added an equally magnificent temple, the principal feature in which was an idol of himself, and he called upon all his countrymen to bow down and worship it, promising wealth and power to those who did so, that the childless would be blessed with issue, that the sick would recover health and live to a great age. Lest these inducements should not prove sufficiently attractive, penalties, different in form but no less terrible than that ordered by Nebuchadnezzar, were threatened to those who refused or abstained. The threats—which the people knew only too well were no empty formality—were more efficacious than the promises. The town became so crowded that the worshippers, nobility, gentry and commoners, had to encamp in the surrounding fields or take shelter in boats on the lake. The native Christians, of whom there were many in the town, were as firm as the Hebrew prophet. Not one attended the ceremony, but either they were not missed among the huge crowds, or Nobunaga was satisfied by his success with the Buddhists, and thought it politic not to push his experiment too far. In any case, none of the Christians suffered for their firmness.

"God who rejects the proud and humbles the lofty Cedar of Lebanon was not long before He avenged this horrible attempt. . . . Nobunaga died a little after he had taken upon him the title of God, and had made himself be adored by his subjects. Heaven, in recompense of his services done to the Church in ruining the idolatrous Temples and favouring the preachers of the Gospel, had hitherto blessed him with a prosperous gale of fortune; but forgetting himself and affecting resemblance with God, the Omnipotent struck him in His fury, and from Temporal fire precipitated him into everlasting flames, to teach men that there is only one God above that rules over Kings and humbles the Proud."

CHAPTER XI

HIDEYOSHI AND THE UNIFICATION OF THE EMPIRE

HIDEYOSHI was in command of the army in the campaign against Mori, the Lord of the Western Provinces, and was at the moment engaged in the siege of the fortified town of Takamatsu, when the news of Nobunaga's murder reached him. Mori had already realized that the campaign could only have one end—his own ruin,—and had made overtures for peace. Negotiations were now resumed, and, under the new conditions which had arisen, Hideyoshi was glad to accept the terms that Nobunaga at the height of his power might have scorned. An armistice was promptly arranged, and Hideyoshi hastened back to Kioto, with a strong division of his army, as fast as the swiftest galleys could carry them. His first task—that to which loyalty to the memory of his murdered chief and the present and future safety of the state alike urged him—was to effect the speedy and condign punishment of the traitors. After his *coup* at Kioto, Akechi led his followers straight to Nobunaga's palace at Azuchi. It was taken without difficulty, the slender garrison and all the inmates, men, women and children, were massacred, and all its treasures, the accumulations of Nobunaga from fifteen years' spoliation, were divided among the soldiers. "So great was the treasure that the men received from ten to twenty thousand ducats each." Then the palace and town were burnt to ashes. "God without doubt permitted it so as

to raze the very foundations of that proud and impious theatre wherein they had committed such abominable idolatry." By this time he had heard that Hideyoshi was on his way back to Kioto, of the coming concentration of all Nobunaga's army, and knew that he would soon have to fight for his very existence. He led his men back to Kioto, hoping to reach it by a forced march and be there in possession of the Emperor before his foes. He found his way opposed by Takayama, one of Nobunaga's generals, who had only a thousand men with him, while Akechi's exceeded eight thousand. Takayama was a Christian—one, as will be seen hereafter, of the most distinguished and faithful converts—and so also were nearly all his men.

For a moment he hesitated whether he could give battle with so small a force, but "confiding in God and the justness of his cause," he charged with all his men who were determined to conquer or die, and broke the traitor's vanguard, killing two hundred of them without the loss of a single man. Reinforcements came up at full gallop to his help and panic seized the traitors, and their whole army broke and fled in the utmost confusion and disorder. They were all killed by the pursuing victors. Akechi himself, wounded in the fight, tried to hide in a wood, where he was found and killed with every incident of cruelty by a band of marauding peasants. His body was sent to Kioto, where the head was placed on Nobunaga's tomb and the body crucified. His career as a successful traitor had lasted precisely twelve days.

Nobunaga left a grandson and two sons, and, like his great predecessors, Kiyomori and Yoritomo, hoped to found a family that would last for ever. History was, however, now destined to afford another instance of its frequent repetitions in Japan; and as Kiyomori and Yoritomo failed, so did he. It is unnecessary to

enter here into a long series of political negotiations that ensued between Hideyoshi and Nobunaga's other great generals, and it will be sufficient to say that Hideyoshi in time succeeded in establishing himself as the head of the state, first in the capacity of guardian to Nobunaga's grandson, and ultimately in his own name, with even greater power and resources at his back than had ever been at the disposal of his predecessors. Conciliation and mercy were the keynotes of his policy, both a new departure in Japan, where hitherto the sword had been the only arbiter. Iyeyasu, next to himself the greatest of Nobunaga's generals, was conciliated by being enfeoffed with the Kuantō Provinces. Nobunaga's own descendants—though both his sons tried an appeal to arms—were brought to see that they had neither the strength nor the ability to step into their father's shoes as dictator. One son ended his life on his defeat in the usual Samurai manner, the other and his grandson were content to accept the lordships of wealthy domains where they could live in comfort though in comparative obscurity, and there was no other in the whole land who could dare to raise hand or voice against the man who had greater power and incomparably greater genius than could be found in any possible combination of the great feudal lords. There was, however, one exception, and, as the story is, though a sad one, a marked illustration of the spirit of Japan, it will be told.

Among Nobunaga's generals was Shibata, who won the battle of Sakai, who was also Nobunaga's brother-in-law. He made his name and rose to high rank and command long before Hideyoshi, but was afterwards passed in the race, and had the mortification of seeing himself subordinate where he had previously been first. He was in command of the army at Echizen on the coast when Nobunaga died, and there, in the strong fortress

of Fukui, he ventured to dispute Hideyoshi's authority. Hideyoshi soon closely besieged him with forty thousand men. The garrison held out till their provisions and material were exhausted, and there was no hope of relief from any quarter, and so the last stern determination was taken. The story is told by the Jesuit Fathers—

"The poor gentleman, feeling himself straitened without any hopes of relief, resolved rather to murder himself than to fall into the hands of the enemy. He assembled all his friends and told them he was resolved to commit *hara-kiri*, and so desired they would please burn his body. As for yourselves, says he, agree with Hideyoshi and save your lives. They one and all then protested against this last, and declared they would follow his example. Shibata thanked them for their kindness, and invited them to a great feast, which was made expressly on this occasion. After this was done, he commanded them to fill the hall and chambers with faggots and wood and set fire to them; then, drawing his sword, he killed both his wife and children and the maids of honour with his own hands, and the other gentlemen of his acquaintance did the same to theirs. After that they committed *hara-kiri*, and lay there wallowing in their blood, till the fire kindled and burnt them to ashes. All, it's true, had not the same courage, for some few forcing their way through the flames made their escape and recounted what had passed."

Hideyoshi's authority was now unquestioned throughout the whole of the Main Island and Shikoku, and there was peace, where peace had scarcely been known for centuries. He was to fight two more great campaigns, one in the Island of Kiushiu and another in Korea, but for the present he was able and resolved to devote himself to the material regeneration of the land, wearied and exhausted with the long wars, and to restore to it the prosperity which its fertility and the innate industry of the people so well merited.

Hideyoshi is one of the greatest characters in the history of Japan. He has been called the "Napoleon

of Japan," and the title is well merited. One other great character, Iyeyasu, was equally distinguished as a general and as a constructive and administrative statesman, but his ambition did not tempt him to carry his military operations beyond his own country. Unlike Napoleon, Hideyoshi died when at the height of his glory. Like him, he rose from a humble position in life, from a far humbler class than Napoleon, with nothing to aid him but his own courage and ambition and genius. If not the greatest, he is certainly the most interesting character in Japanese history, the one instance of a man who rose to the highest dignity of the state, next to that of the Emperor, from the very lowest class of the people. It is common to speak of the great statesmen, Okubo, Kido, Ito and Inouye, who, serving the Emperor who is now on the throne, have, in our own day, raised Japan to the status of one of the great Powers of the world, and of the generals and admiral, Yamagata, Oyama and Togo, who triumphed over all the military and naval strength of Russia, as self-made men. But they were only self-made men when their origin is compared to the great positions to which they ultimately attained. All of them were of gentle blood, squires of a good degree, who started life with all the advantages that long descent can give in a country that is aristocratic to the core in all its traditions and sympathies. They are all self-made men in the sense that Washington was; Hideyoshi is the one and only self-made man in the sense of Lincoln. His greatness of character was not inferior to that either of the founder or of the saviour of the Union.

His father was a peasant labourer in the Province of Owari, one of the poorest of the poorest class in Japan, who eke out a scanty and penurious livelihood by unremitting toil. He was not even a cultivator of the soil, and his support was derived from woodcutting on the

hills. In this occupation Hideyoshi passed his childhood, cutting wood on the hills one day and hawking it in the streets the next. From that he became a groom in Nobunaga's service when Nobunaga was still an insignificant feudatory. The boy had not even the advantage of good looks to recommend him. He was short of stature, awkward and ungainly, with a face of apish ugliness, and the dark complexion that is universal among the field labourers of Japan; but his face was lightened by eyes of startling brilliancy; "they sent out fire in flashes enough to pass through." So comically ugly was his appearance that he was derisively named "the Monkey" at the outset of his career. His smartness, perhaps also his extraordinary appearance, soon attracted the attention of his new master, and the master, one of whose great qualities was an unerring judgment of men, quickly recognized the capacity of his servant, and from a groom advanced him to the dignity and rank of a soldier. Thenceforward Hideyoshi's rise in the service of his lord was as rapid as the lord's own rise in the service of the state, and in 1582, when Nobunaga died, Hideyoshi, the poor peasant's son, at the age of forty-six years, was unquestionably the greatest man in the Empire. His lowly birth was, however, an obstacle to obtaining one of the great offices of state from the Emperor. None had hitherto been held by those that were not of the bluest blood. Hideyoshi tried to remedy this deficiency by adoption, which, through all ages, has carried with it in Japan every privilege and *éclat* of birth. Yoshiaki, the last of the Ashikaga Shōguns, was still living in monastic retirement, but he was now old, and his share in affairs was over; he had nothing to fear and nothing to hope for, and he flatly refused to take the son of a peasant into the sacred folds of the Minamoto, to help to make him his own successor in the Shōgunate. The still more illustrious family of the

Fujiwara were poor, with a wide circle of relatives to provide for. Their needs, if not their will, consented, and Hideyoshi was enrolled among the descendants of Koyane tsu Ame, the God who had come down from Heaven along with the grandson of the Sun Goddess. Nothing could now be said of his low origin, and the office of Kuambaku, which could only be held by a Fujiwara, was conferred on him, so that he had now both the name and the reality of power.

His civil administration was productive of unqualified blessings to the country. Taxation and coinage were reformed, agriculture, trade and industry were encouraged, and, ever mindful of the miseries and hardships of his childhood, he protected the peasantry against local tyranny and extortion, so that all the land was soon smiling in prosperity. Kioto, well governed once more, was rebuilt and adorned with temples of imposing grandeur. Osaka is now, and has been for centuries, the greatest and wealthiest commercial city of Japan, the home of banking and trading families whose names are household words; who, in their own way, are as proud of their history as the haughtiest noble of the Court or feudalism is of his own; who are as scrupulous in observing the principles of commercial honour as the merchant product of the present generation of foreign trade in Japan is the reverse. Osaka owes its rise to this position from that of a poor fishing village to Hideyoshi's judgment, which foresaw all its material advantages. He built a great castle there on the site of the monastery destroyed by Nobunaga, and round the castle a great town soon grew, and Hideyoshi resolved to make it the most spacious and beautiful town in all Japan. "The roof of his palace was all gilt, and it darted out so great a lustre that one could have taken it for some terrestrial sun that eclipsed in some manner the very light of the Celestial Sun itself."

The island of Kiushiu was the last part of the Empire to acknowledge his authority. The Satsuma clan were there all-powerful, and had made themselves masters of no less than eight of the nine provinces which together formed the island. Satsuma was the last part of the Empire to acknowledge the government of the present Emperor after the Restoration in 1868, and was only forced to do so after a long and bitterly fought campaign, the last of all the many civil wars in Japan. As it was in 1868, so it was three hundred years before. Satsuma, secure in his strength, still more so perhaps in his distance from the central government, in the obstacles that the natural conditions of the island offered to campaigning on a large scale, thought he could bid defiance to Hideyoshi, and did so in the most offensive manner that was possible. He tore Hideyoshi's letter, the wording of which was strictly in keeping with the requirements of diplomatic courtesy, to pieces, after an affectation of hastily glancing at its contents, in the presence of the messenger who brought it, flung the pieces to the ground and trampled on them, and then told the messenger that was the only answer for him to take back to his upstart master. This was in the year 1586. Satsuma had at this time an army of seventy thousand men ready for immediate service. The island of Kiushiu was its own ground, in which it was accustomed to fight and conquer, in which for a generation it had not known a single reverse, with every hill and dale of which its officers were familiar. To Hideyoshi, on the other hand, Kiushiu was little better than *terra incognita*. It was far from his base, and an invading force would have to be transported a great distance both by sea and land. To ensure success, the invading army, which would be called upon to fight every foot of its way and to attack veteran soldiers securely entrenched on steep and narrow mountain passes, and on the moun-

tain slopes that commanded the main roads, must largely outnumber the defenders. He therefore fully recognized the magnitude of the task that was before him. He had, however, all the resources and men of the Main Island at his disposal. Mori, the Lord of the Western Provinces, the most powerful feudatory of the Empire next to Satsuma, except Satsuma, the last to recognize Hideyoshi, was now his cordial ally, and to him was assigned the van of the invaders. Hideyoshi did nothing hurriedly, left nothing unprovided for, and in all his efforts gave a marked forecast of the exhaustive organization which the modern generation of his countrymen showed before they staked their national existence in the war with Russia. While collecting men, arms and material, he sent a small army of spies through Kiushiu, and their reports enlightened the topographical darkness which was one of his most formidable difficulties. It was in summer that his message was flouted by Satsuma. By the end of the year, Hideyoshi had an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men concentrated at Osaka. Mori was ready to join him with thirty thousand more, and every necessary step had been taken to provide for the transport of the great force to the seat of war and for its provisioning when it arrived there. Nothing that human experience and foresight could suggest was overlooked or forgotten. At this time the Japanese had become acquainted with firearms. Soldiers still relied on their swords and spears at close quarters, but the bow had been discarded in favour of the matchlock.

Our limits do not admit a description of the details of the campaign which was carried through under Hideyoshi's own personal command. The Satsuma men fought with the same heroic courage that they did under the command of the great Saigo in 1877, and man for man they proved themselves better swordsmen, more

unflinching warriors than their invaders. Many tales of heroic valour and self-sacrifice are told. On one occasion three officers, each with a handful of men, covered the retreat of the whole Satsuma army and saved it from annihilation, but all—both officers and men—fell to the last man. Valour, however, failed, as it must in the end always do, against overwhelming numbers handled by supreme genius, and Hideyoshi's march from Kokura on the Shimonoseki Straits, across the unknown country, right to the walls of the fortified Satsuma capital, was a continued series of unbroken successes in battles, sieges, skirmishes, and marches. At last he crossed the steep mountain frontier of the Province of Satsuma in the remote south of the island, and the clan, for the first time in their history, found their own territory invaded, their capital on the point of having to undergo a siege which could only have one end; and when that end came it involved, according to all Japanese tradition and custom, the deaths of every one who had taken part in the defence, from the Lord of the Clan and all his family down to the lowest soldier, and the confiscation, for the benefit of the invaders, of all the land and property—in fact, the extermination of Satsuma as a clan.

It was now that Hideyoshi once more showed his genius and courage as a statesman. Satsuma would have met with no mercy from Nobunaga, not to mention the great leaders of the past. They would have exacted the bitter penalty to the last fraction. The memory of the insulting reception of his messenger, the scorn flung at his own origin, galling in his most tender point, might well have embittered Hideyoshi and tempted him to say *vae victis*. What he actually did was to proclaim that he had come to Kiushiu by the Emperor's orders only to establish peace and secure the tranquil administration of that part of his Majesty's

dominions under the control of the unified government at Kioto. The ruin of an ancient house was no part of his plan, still less the extermination of those who should be his Majesty's faithful subjects. Treachery to friends is common enough in Japanese history. Satsuma suffered bitterly from it in this campaign. Thousands of Samurai throughout the whole of Kiushiu, not belonging to the clan, had eagerly enlisted in his army when Satsuma was all-powerful and master of the island. The lords of petty fiefs had become his allies. Samurai and petty chiefs both deserted with equal eagerness when it became evident that Hideyoshi's march would be a triumphal progress, and fought against their old comrades. Treachery to foes was not only common, but was recognized as an integral part of justifiable policy in war. Satsuma might well, therefore, have hesitated to accept any overtures coming from a general in the moment of his triumph when his beaten foes were already at his mercy, and only the *coup de grâce* had to be given. But Hideyoshi's record was that of mercy to his beaten foes, of not pushing his victories to the very last extremity, and that record served him in good stead now. The clan submitted. They lost the provinces which they had acquired by force, they were compelled to recognize and submit to the Imperial Government at Kioto, where the chief remained as a hostage for the good behaviour of the clan, but they were left with territory which made them still the most powerful feudatories in Kiushiu.

All Japan was now at Hideyoshi's feet. He ruled as the national constitution required, in the name of the shadowy Emperor who dallied with poetry and music in his palace at Kioto, but his rule was universally recognized. Still his ambition made him long for further conquests. His own country offered no further military scope for him. He determined to make his glory shine

beyond the seas, to found for himself as great a position in the national Pantheon as that of Hachiman, the God of War, and as the means to that end he contemplated the conquest of the great Empire of China as an initial step in bringing the whole world beneath him. The way to China was through Korea.

The story of the Empress Jingō's invasion of Korea has been told, as has also that of Japan's civilization and religious reformation which she owed entirely to what she learned from Korea. The limits of the present volume, however, prevent more than the incidental mention of the intercourse that was carried on between the two countries throughout the centuries that succeeded Jingō's invasion or of Japan's continued interference as a suzerain in the domestic affairs of Korea, of the part she played in the war between the three rival kingdoms into which the country was originally divided. Korea promised, as one of the conditions of peace extorted by Jingō, that she should pay tribute to Japan, and for many centuries this promise was faithfully kept. In the fourteenth century, Korea was unified into one state under the influence and protection of China. From that time she regarded China as her suzerain, and the payment of tribute to Japan ceased. Japan was then and for two centuries afterwards too much absorbed in her own domestic wars and miseries to have any thought for countries beyond the sea, but Hideyoshi from an early part of his career, long before he could have foreseen his own ultimate greatness in anything but the wildest intoxication of ambition, had Korea in his mind's eye, and one of his first acts after Nobunaga's death, when his own future was still in the balance, was to make a demand on Korea for a renewal of her tribute-bearing embassies. It was not till 1590—eight years later—that Korea at last complied, and an embassy of becoming dignity was sent. Its reception by Hideyoshi

was characteristic of the man. He kept the ambassador waiting many months for an audience, then gave the audience with as little courtesy as though it was that of a sovereign condescending to receive an inferior, himself sitting in state throughout it in the midst of a large retinue of officers in state dress. Leaving the ambassador and his suite and his own officers still waiting, he withdrew without a word from the audience hall. In a few moments he reappeared, in deshabille, carrying his infant child in his arms, and, still carrying the child, strolled unconcernedly among the assembly; and the grotesqueness of the whole scene was intensified when the child, before grand officers of state and ambassadors, soiled its great nurse's clothes in a fashion that is ordinary with childhood. The indignation of the ambassador, a slave to the most rigid ceremonial, was not lessened when he learned that Hideyoshi was not the legitimate sovereign, but merely the Kuambaku, the chief Minister of State, and an upstart at that, and when at last, after more weary waiting, Hideyoshi's written reply to his own royal master was received by him, his cup was full. The letter in its concluding sentences said—

"I will assemble a mighty host, and invading the country of the great Ming, I will fill with the hoar frost from my sword the whole sky over the four hundred provinces. Should I carry out this purpose, I hope that Korea will be my vanguard. Let her not fail to do so, for my friendship with your honourable country depends solely on your conduct when I lead my army against China."

The Koreans returned to their own country convinced that Hideyoshi meant war, and they did not contribute to soften his menaces when, in a later letter, they told him that his project of attacking China was like an "attempt to measure the ocean with a cockle-shell, or of a bee to sting a tortoise through its shell." The

Jesuit Fathers in Japan, though they had witnessed his meteoric rise and his unbroken triumphs in his own country, thought little better of his project than did the Korean ambassador. "It was a temerarious enterprise if ever there was any, Japan being hardly one handful of earth in respect to the vast Empire of China."

The Kiushiu campaign had taught Hideyoshi what was necessary for a campaign far from the main base, and all that he had learned was now put to the best use. A powerful army was concentrated at Karatsu, a port on the north-western shore of Kiushiu, now the seat of a great coal industry, and ships gathered to transport it across the seas, and by the month of June 1592, one hundred and thirty thousand men, well found in every requisite, the majority veteran soldiers, were landed in Southern Korea, and these were soon followed by thirty thousand more. Hideyoshi's ambition was to head his own army, and to provide for the administration of the Empire in his absence, he abdicated the office of Kuambaku, and caused the Emperor to bestow it on his nephew, Hideyoshi himself assuming the title, by which he is best known in history, of Taikō. At the last moment his health forced him to abandon his idea. He was now fifty-six years of age, and, hard-fighting soldier though he was, he had not led a life of continency and abstinence. The command of the first army was given to Konishi Yukinaga, a Christian, as were also many of his men, and of the second to Kato Kiyomasa, who hated Christians with a bitter hatred. Both were generals of long-tried experience, both were men whom Hideyoshi had raised from low degree, Yukinaga the son of a druggist, and Kiyomasa of a blacksmith.

The Koreans had only one advantage over the Japanese—their ships were larger and stronger. Once the passage of the sea was secured, all was easy to the Japanese. The Koreans had enjoyed peace for centuries,

and were therefore destitute of military experience. The Japanese had firearms and were now skilled in their use; the Koreans only had bows and arrows. All Korea was open, and as there were no fortresses, there were neither artificial nor natural difficulties to confront the invaders, while the country, richly cultivated, furnished abundant supplies for the necessaries of life. Under such circumstances, Yukinaga had an easy task. The ill-armed and worse-drilled Koreans made vain efforts to stop his progress. On each occasion they were defeated with great loss, and in twenty-five days from their landing at Fusan, the invaders were in the capital, Seoul, and the Korean King and his Court had fled to the northern frontier, enduring pitiable privations on the way. The Japanese then extended their conquest to the town of Ping Shang. China was Korea's suzerain, bound to protect her in case of need, and she now began to recognize her obligations. An army of five thousand men was sent to Korea and an endeavour made to retake Ping Shang, but it was defeated, and the Chinese survivors of the battle, panic-struck, never drew bridle in their retreat until they were over the border of their own country again. Then a turn of the tide took place. The Koreans, notwithstanding their superiority in ships, at first made no attempt to try their fortune on the sea. They now got their fleet together and appeared off a harbour a little to the west of Fusan, in which that of Japan lay at anchor. By feigning a retreat, they induced the Japanese to follow them on to the open sea. There, the Koreans turned on their pursuers and totally defeated them, sinking many of their ships, and driving the rest back to their harbour in utter confusion. The action had many important results. It encouraged the Koreans, who till then had only known defeat, to take heart again. Everywhere the beaten soldiers subjected the Japanese to a harassing guerilla warfare.

They laid waste their own country round the Japanese camps so that the latter could get no supplies, and being now masters of the sea, they were able to cut off all reinforcements from Japan, whether of men or provisions. In the winter Yukinaga was reduced to the utmost straits. The winter in Korea is incomparably more severe than that of East or South Japan, from which the Japanese troops in Korea were exclusively drawn, and only the best and most careful provision of food and clothing would have enabled them to endure it under any circumstances. As it was, they were destitute of everything, and suffered to the utmost all the worst privations of cold and hunger. And when everything was at its worst, when naked and starving men were shivering in the bitter cold of February, they suddenly heard that a great Chinese army was on them. Resistance was useless, and the Japanese were only too glad to make a hasty retreat to the capital.

Kiyomasa's army had, while Yukinaga was in the bloom of his first successes at Ping Shang, overrun the north-east part of Korea. It now followed his retreat, and both armies met and concentrated at Seoul. Here they beat off a second attack by the Chinese, but at terrible loss to themselves, and it was only their superior skill in swordsmanship that gave them the victory. "The enemy fell on them like lions, but the Japanese, who knew that they must either conquer or die, fought with desperation." Neither side was keen for another trial, and the Japanese were glad to enter into an armistice by which they were permitted to continue their retreat to Fusan, the harbour on the coast where they had first landed a year before. Here they were in milder climatic conditions, and were able to entrench themselves. Yukinaga, being a Christian, endeavoured to conduct the war with the mercy of Christian soldiers. Kiyomasa's methods still partook of ancient savagery.

Fearing an outbreak of the Koreans within the city when the attack of the Chinese on Seoul took place, he massacred all the full-grown men, and, on the evacuation, set fire to and destroyed what remained of the town. The condition of the unhappy Koreans was deplorable. The army of their rescuing allies had to be supported as well as that of their invading foes. Both exhausted all available supplies, and the people died from starvation in thousands.

One of the terms of the armistice was that China and Korea should send a joint embassy to Japan to treat for peace. The promise was kept, and the embassy arrived in Japan in the summer of 1593, where it was well received by Hideyoshi, but no permanent Treaty of Peace was concluded; and while the embassy was actually in Japan, the Japanese army was still in Korea, and acting, it is said, under Hideyoshi's own orders, attacked and took Chinchu, a fortified town to the west of Fusan, and slew more than sixty thousand Koreans in the assault on the town and in the battle in the open which preceded the assault. There was no more fighting after this, and in the following year the Chinese troops were withdrawn from Korea, and the Japanese left with only a garrison at Fusan. There was as yet no formal peace, and the Koreans burned with resentment at the thought of the miseries to which their country had been wantonly subjected.

Yukinaga remained in Korea, and, after much negotiation, succeeded in inducing the Chinese to send another embassy to Japan to treat for a formal peace on a basis which he arranged, the principal conditions of which were that the Emperor of China should invest Hideyoshi with the dignity of King of Japan, that all Japanese should leave Korea and that they should never again invade it. The embassy, which consisted of two ambassadors, with a splendid retinue, in due course

reached Fusan, where they were detained in the Japanese camp, according to the Jesuit Fathers, by Hideyoshi's own orders, who, in the excess of his personal vanity, wished to have time to make preparations for giving the ambassadors a reception which would impress them with adequate ideas of his splendour. He built a great Hall of Audience, "so large that a thousand tatami[1] were spread in it. The mats were edged with gold and silk fringe; the pillars were partly plain, partly fluted and twisted, but all adorned with figures wrought in pure gold. Gold was everywhere, even on the roof and pavement." The Jesuits, who were at Osaka and saw it, say that a hundred thousand men were engaged in its construction, and that nothing could exceed it. While this was in progress, the two ambassadors, who were both young men, were detained in a sort of honourable captivity in the Japanese camp at Fusan, and as their captivity continued, the senior began to mistrust the good faith of his captors, and finally secretly absconded in the night, disguised and unattended, leaving behind him even his seals of office. As soon as his flight was discovered, he was pursued, but he succeeded in making his way back to his own country by byways.

"This precipitous flight was variously discoursed on. Some attributed it to melancholy and grief upon his confinement to the fortress, others to a vile and servile fear, Chinese mandarins being for the most part of mean descent, and promoted to their offices in the government upon slender proofs of their abilities in the academies where they study, they want that fire and martial greatness which good blood, the example of predecessors and honour of families usually inspire into children that are better born. So this young cavalier, being the son of one of these mandarins of fortune, and warrior only by book, feeling himself surrounded by guards, and amongst the bravoes of Japan, the very looks of those warlike heroes struck him into such a panic fear

[1] The mats which are still the universal floor covering in Japan. Each measures six feet by three.

that he believed all was lost. What yet improved this suspicion was the unadvised discourse of a certain Japanese, who told him that the Tycoon detained them purposely in Korea, by way of reprisal, to be avenged on the Chinese for assisting his enemies, and well if his resentment went no further. There needed no more to make him believe that there was a design on his life and force him to fly."

Whatever the cause of his flight, its result was disastrous to the unfortunate youth. He suffered great hardships, which he was ill fitted to bear, on his journey, and his own Emperor was so indignant at his conduct that he threw him into prison, confiscated his estate, and his whole family was involved in his ruin. It had, however, also the result of putting an end to any further delay on Hideyoshi's part. The second ambassador, now chief, was brought to Japan and arrived at Sakai. Unfortunately, all Hideyoshi's great preparations were nullified by two of the terrible earthquakes which are so frequent in Japan, and the two on this occasion established what is to this day a record of ruin and disaster. On the night of the 30th August (1596), and again on the 4th of September, the earth was shaken with such violence that all Hideyoshi's great buildings were levelled to the ground, and he himself barely escaped from his own palace, carrying his young child in his arms. Seven hundred ladies of the court were killed, and of all his great palace nothing was left but the kitchen. Temples and houses throughout the city fell in a moment, and "it was as if the devils of hell had broke loose."

Hideyoshi received the embassy with a ceremony which was vastly diminished from what he intended, but still splendid. All went well until the contents of the ambassador's credentials and the written message of the Chinese Emperor were explained to Hideyoshi. They were as usual written in classical Chinese, and to an educated Japanese were as intelligible as a document

in Latin would have been to a statesman of the days of Elizabeth. But Hideyoshi had no literary education, and had to invoke the help of a priest to interpret both the contents of the letter and the credentials. When he found that he was called a tributary to China, that he was desired in future to respectfully follow the commands of the Emperor, and that instructions were given to him as to the conduct of his own people, his rage knew no bounds. He tore off the robe he was wearing, a present from the Emperor of China, "he frothed and foamed at the mouth, he ranted and tore till his head smoked like fire and his body was all over in a dropping sweat." The unfortunate ambassador was ordered to quit Japan without delay, he was unceremoniously bundled on board his ship at Sakai, and Hideyoshi prepared for the immediate renewal of war. A new army of a hundred and thirty thousand men was soon landed in Korea, and China on her side hastened to send troops once more to the relief of her tributary in the hour of need.

The war lasted for two more years. Into the details of its varying fortunes we need not enter, and we will only mention some of its most important incidents. In the previous war, the Koreans were triumphant on the sea. They had now given command of their navy to an officer who distinguished himself only by his incompetence, while the Japanese, on the other hand, had been taught by their previous reverses to reorganize and place their navy on a sound footing. The Koreans rashly attacked them when they were safe in harbour, and the Korean sailors, wearied with a long day at their oars and exhausted by hunger and thirst, were easily beaten off. The Korean admiral was flogged for his failure, but, instead of rousing himself under this experience, he sought consolation in drink, and he and his whole fleet were taken by the Japanese. In this war the Japanese had, therefore, the advantage of the command

of the sea. Still their supplies could not be kept up, and on one occasion they were invested in Yolsan and reduced to such extremities that they chewed earth and paper, and at night used to steal beyond their lines to see if, happily, in the haversack of some dead Chinese soldier they could find a few grains of rice.

There is still a hill in Kioto, near to the Daibutsu Temple and to Hideyoshi's own tomb, which is shown by the guides to every European tourist as the "Ear Mound" (Mimidzuka). In the battle of So-chou, fought towards the close of 1598, thirty-nine thousand Chinese and Koreans were slain. So many heads could not easily be transported, so the ears and noses of the dead soldiers were cut off and were sent packed in salt to the great Dictator in Japan as evidence of the glorious deeds of his soldiers, and this mound marks the spot where they were buried. But before the gruesome trophies reached Japan, before even the battle was fought, Hideyoshi was no more. In June he fell ill. His last days were devoted to the attempt to secure the inheritance of all his honours and wealth to his son, a child of eight years of age. Iyeyasu, his comrade and friend, was summoned to his side from his own domains in the East, and there swore to the father in the most solemn form that is known to the Japanese, sealing the written oath with his own blood, that he would guard the interests of the son. The thoughts for the future of his son did not prevent the old general from remembering his soldiers in Korea. He was wearied of the war and all its long list of casualties, and he charged Iyeyasu not to let his soldiers "become ghosts in Korea." This charge, at least, was faithfully fulfilled, and by the end of the year the Japanese soldiers were on their way to their homes, having left behind them utter desolation in Korea, a memory of slaughter and misery which to this day causes the words "the accursed nation" to be

the ordinary vernacular terms for the Japanese, having suffered enormous losses and terrible privations themselves, without having acquired one particle of material good for their own country.

Hideyoshi died on the 15th of September, 1598, vain to the last, for his last injunctions on his deathbed were that he should be apotheosised among the national Gods of Japan as the new Hachiman. His personal vices, great though they were, are obscured in the national estimation by his great services to the state. It was by him that the unification of all Japan was completed; that a strong centralized government, able to enforce its will over the whole country, was first established; that the firm foundations were laid of the dual government which, completed by Iyeyasu, maintained domestic peace for nearly two hundred and fifty years, and that material prosperity was restored to the country, wasted for centuries by civil war. He was the only man of the people who ever reached the highest office in the state, who sought his confidants and advisers from the class from which he sprang, and who made the happiness and well-being of that class the cardinal point of all his policy. And if not merciful by nature, policy taught him to be so. Under him there was no ruthless extermination of defeated enemies. He had to overcome the prototypes of the Taira and Hōjō; but when victory was on his side, as it always was, his clemency was such as to turn his erstwhile foes into grateful friends, and to preserve their valour and talents for the service of his country. He is, and is worthily, a great national hero to this day, whose name and story all the Japanese are proud to recall, whose glory equalled that of Napoleon, but who brought nothing but good to his country (the sufferings and losses of the Korean wars are forgotten in their glory), and left it when he died in every way better for his life.

We have left the story of one passage in his career till the last. It is the only one in which—save in the case of the Christians—he departed entirely from his usual policy of mercy and conciliation, in which he displayed a degree of remorseless cruelty and revenge that would not have misbecome Kiyomori, which leaves a sad blot on his name, though it is entirely forgotten by his own countrymen, who remember only his great glory and services.

It has already been told that on the eve of the war with Korea, he resigned his office of Kuambaku in favour of his nephew Hidetsugu, the son of a step-sister who married the Prince of Musashi. At that time Hideyoshi, notwithstanding his frequent marriages, was still childless, and Hidetsugu was regarded by himself and all the people as his heir. Hidetsugu was over thirty years of age, and his character as drawn by the Jesuits was marked by strangely contradictory qualities.

"He was endowed with all the qualifications that can be desired in a young prince. He had a quick and penetrating wit, and excellent judgment, and withal a most courteous and obliging manner. He was wise, prudent and discreet. He naturally abhorred the abominable vices of the country, and, what is rare in young princes, he loved learning, and took pleasure in it. And for this reason he was delighted in the company of the Fathers, and knowing that our Religion set a value on virtue and good manners he took a particular affection to it."

Such is the description given of him by one of the Fathers who knew him well. On the other hand, he took a pleasure both in the contemplation and the actual infliction of human suffering which recalls the horrible vices of the Emperor Muretsu. He was not only fond of witnessing public executions and trials by torture, but he acted at times as the executioner or the torturer. Not satisfied with the ordinary methods of execution, he used

to slowly hack criminals to pieces with his sword, to cut off their arms or legs, or to make them living targets to be slowly shot to death with firearms or arrows. The horrors of his cruelty to women rival those of Muretsu, and, like Muretsu's, do not bear telling. With all these savage qualities, he was favourably disposed towards Christianity, and was regarded by the Jesuit priests as a promising convert.

The birth of a child from Hideyoshi's sixth wife, Yodo, daughter of Azai, Prince of Bizen, and, according to the Jesuits, "the dearest and best beloved of all his wives," changed all the nephew's prospects in life. He could no longer hope to inherit the wealth and dignity of his uncle, and the disappointment was embittered by the fact that he had three children of his own, two of them sons, in whom he fondly hoped the family honours would have been vested on his own death, to continue a race of hereditary rulers of the Empire. The disappointment was still further embittered by the credence which was generally given to the report that Hideyoshi's newly-born child was supposititious, a credence in which the nephew's own interests made him too readily share. He received, it is true, the great dignity of Kuambaku, but enjoyed it only in name. Hideyoshi retained absolute power in his own hands, and it was only natural to expect that he should use it to secure the future of his son to the detriment of that of the nephew. Jealousy and suspicion soon arose between the uncle and the nephew. Outward civilities were interchanged between them. The nephew lived at Kioto, the uncle in the new palace which he had built for himself at Fushimi. A state visit was made by the latter to his nephew. The road between the two palaces was lined on both sides with guards with drawn swords, and a retinue of three hundred nobles attended on Hideyoshi, "who rode in a car all inlaid with gold, drawn by two large black oxen

with gilded horns and embroidered trappings of crimson velvet that hung down to the ground." For the banquet at which he was entertained, thirteen thousand tables[1] were prepared on which the successive courses were served to all the guests. But beneath all the outward display of pomp and friendliness, there was nothing but distrust. Hideyoshi's own personal guards never left his side by day or night, and he refused to lodge in the same palace with his nephew, on the ostensible grounds that there was none sufficiently spacious to accommodate the families and followers of both. The visit ended without mishap, but soon after his return to Fushimi, Hideyoshi ordered his nephew to visit him there, unattended except by pages. On his way he was arrested and conducted to Fushimi not as a guest but as a prisoner, and on his arrival was at once ordered to continue his journey to the monastery of Koya, fully sixty miles distant.

Koya, near the northern limits of the province of Kishiu, stands on a steep hill. It is one of the most ancient Buddhist foundations in the land, famed for its hall of ten thousand lamps, some at least of which have been kept perpetually lighted, both day and night, for many centuries. It is said that none can voluntarily enter it who is not pure of heart, but it was often used in the middle and later ages as a place of confinement for high-born political offenders, and many, whose hearts may have been pure but were certainly sad, have crossed the "Bridge of Paradise" which leads to it, never again to quit it. In no other spot are there so many memorials of great personages, both of old and new Japan, as are found in the cemetery which is attached to it. Burial in the cemetery is presumed to open the gates of paradise to the dead, and those who die too far

[1] These tables were the small stands on which dishes are still served separately to each guest at Japanese dinners.

away to admit of the actual interment of even a fragment of their bodies, obtain the full privileges of burial, though there is no grave, if a monument is erected to their memories.

Arrived there, after three days' travelling, Hidetsugu was closely confined in one small room, and the Prince, who, a few weeks before, had entertained his guests with thirteen thousand tables, was scarcely supplied with the ordinary necessaries of life. He was still attended by the ten pages who had accompanied him to Fushimi. Five of these were recalled. Then orders came that Hidetsugu and the remaining five should all commit *hara-kiri*. There was no thought of disobeying these orders. To have done so would have been to invite degradation and a felon's death at the hands of the common executioner, to leave a stain upon their names that no time could efface. The pages, boys none of whom was older than nineteen years, one of whom was only sixteen, each in turn, in his master's presence, used his sword upon himself in the sickeningly painful fashion that honour prescribed, and the master then performed for each the last duty that a faithful friend can render, that of cutting off the head when the youth was quivering and bleeding from the gash that he had inflicted upon himself. Last of all, the Prince, the lord and master, also died on the same sword that he had used on them.

Having thus removed the chief offender from his way, it might have been thought that Hideyoshi would have been satisfied, but a frenzied lust of blood seemed to have momentarily taken possession of him. Not only was every one of Hidetsugu's adherents, whether bound to him by ties of blood or friendship, put to death, but his wife and children, and all the ladies of his court, all of noble birth, were also condemned to die like criminals by the executioner's hands, on the common

execution ground, the dry bed of the river Kamo. The Jesuits witnessed their procession through the streets of Kioto to the ground. The ladies, "with the very image of death in their faces," were carried in carts, but the most pitiable sight of all was that of Hidetsugu's three little children, the eldest not five years of age. On the execution ground, the head of their dead father, husband and lord was thrust in their faces. The children attempted to run from the horrid sight, "and wept as if their hearts would have burst," but they were taken one after the other and beheaded before their mother's eyes; then all the ladies were also beheaded. Vengeance was not satiated even with their deaths. Their bodies were all thrown into a pit, and it was labelled "The tomb of beasts," beast being the most offensive term that the Japanese vocabulary affords for application to human beings. It is not surprising that the Jesuits, forgetting many chapters in the previous history of Japan, call this "one of the bloodiest tragedies that has ever been acted in the theatre of this world," and that they saw in it the presage of the fate which afterwards fell upon themselves.

CHAPTER XII

IYEYASU, FOUNDER OF THE TOKUGAWA SHŌGUNATE

EVERY great dictator of Japan was anxious to found a family of hereditary rulers. It was so with Kiyomori and Yoritomo, with Hōjō Tokimasa, with Ashikaga Takauji and with Nobunaga. It was equally Hideyoshi's ambition. Tokimasa and Takauji succeeded; Kiyomori and Yoritomo failed. Hideyoshi's ambition was even more overweening than theirs. They were both of noble birth, sprung from and reared among the ruling class. Hideyoshi was an upstart, whose genius forced his acceptance on the nobility of the Empire, despite the natural aversion which they held to one born far beneath them, to whom they were forced to bend the knee in outward and abject submission, while the outraged pride of caste was bitterly rankling in their hearts. The young son, whom Hideyoshi left as his heir, was of doubtful paternity to every one but the reputed father, who cherished the child with all the pride and devoted love that the fondest father could show. It was not likely that a child of low descent at best, possibly with no rightful hereditary claims to his father's honour, would retain the lealty of a proud nobility in such a degree that it would be devoted to preserve his dignity until he became of age to defend it himself. Hideyoshi was far too sagacious to let fatherly pride and affection blind him to the complications that might follow his death, and on his deathbed he did all that human wisdom could do to provide for his son the protection

he could no longer give himself. Iyeyasu was next to himself the most powerful subject of the Empire. They had been comrades in arms under Nobunaga. Both rose to fame and fortune together, and Hideyoshi, at the height of his power, enriched Iyeyasu with the gift of the Eastern Provinces, the richest and finest in all the land, where Iyeyasu's descent made him an acceptable ruler, and secured for him the feudal devotion of the descendants of the people who had faithfully served his ancestors. Iyeyasu alone could provide for the child's future security, and Hideyoshi, in appointing him his guardian, thought to ensure his fidelity in uniting his interest with his duty, and to that end he arranged the marriage of his son with Iyeyasu's granddaughter. Four other great territorial Princes were associated with Iyeyasu in his office, and to the five were entrusted both the guardianship of the child and the regency of the Empire, always, of course, under the Emperor, until he came of age.

Iyeyasu was born at Okasaki, in the Province of Mikawa, in 1542—a year remarkable in the national history as that in which the Portuguese, the first Europeans to discover Japan and to enter into commercial relations with it, first landed on its shore. He was a descendant of the Minamoto. Except under the Hōjō, the Shōgunate, which was first conferred by the Emperor on Yoritomo, the great chief of the Minamoto, was always held by that family, and it had come to be regarded in the national estimation as their exclusive right. It was for this reason that neither Nobunaga nor Hideyoshi ever assumed it—it has been already told how Hideyoshi vainly endeavoured to surmount the obstacle by adoption—but the title was now open to Iyeyasu, if ever his influence and power justified him in claiming it. By Nobunaga he was enfeoffed with the province in which he was born, and, as has just been stated, Hide-

yoshi's bounty subsequently made him Prince of the eight Eastern Provinces. Here he founded Yedo (Tokio) in the year 1590, making it the capital of his rich domains, and Yedo soon acquired the greatness which had formerly belonged to Kamakura. His family name, Tokugawa, was, like those of Hōjō and Ashikaga, geographical in its origin, derived from a district in the province of Shimotsuke, in which his ancestors at one time lived.

It was not long after Hideyoshi's death before dissensions occurred among the guardians, and suspicions as to Iyeyasu's motives soon began to develop themselves in the minds of the colleagues. The suspicions were inflamed by jealousy of the preponderating influence which his means and ability and the great trust reposed in him by Hideyoshi gave him. From suspicion and jealousy it was, in those days, not a long way to action. Iyeyasu had taken possession, on Hideyoshi's death, of his palace at Fushimi, a suburb of Kioto, and made it the seat of the government. A league was formed against him, the guiding spirit of which was Ishida Mitsunari, one of Hideyoshi's ministers, but not one of the guardians of his son, and during Iyeyasu's temporary absence in one of his own provinces a sudden assault was made on Fushimi, and the castle was taken after a few days' siege by an army got together by the league. Civil war was now inevitable. The league, supported by Chōshiu and Satsuma, as well as other great feudatories, gathered an army of over a hundred thousand men at Osaka, while Iyeyasu quickly assembled under his banner all the fighting strength of his Eastern Provinces, and his army, in two divisions, was soon on its march to the west, followed a little later by himself. Their march led through the provinces of Mino and Owari. Mino was now the fief of Hidenobu, the surviving nephew of Nobunaga, and

his castle seat was at the town of Gifu, the home of his great-uncle before he built his castle at Azuchi, on Lake Biwa. It was a place of supreme strategic importance, and its acquisition was vital to the interests of both the league and Iyeyasu. Its lord, a zealous young Christian Prince of twenty-two years of age, had given his adherence to neither, and would have been only too willing to have abstained from all share in the coming conflict. But the army of the league was already on his southern frontiers, and Iyeyasu was rapidly advancing from the north, and he had to choose between them. He took the side of the league, and prepared to defend himself until their army could come to his assistance. Iyeyasu did not loiter on his march. He reached Gifu first. Then he sent an advance party of six hundred men against the castle, while he kept the main force of the division in ambush in the rear. The impetuous young Prince, seeing only the advance party, sallied out of his castle and drove them back, but fell into the trap prepared for him. He made a gallant effort to redeem his folly, but the Easterns "were on his heels through all his retreat, killing and slaying on every side," and they entered the castle simultaneously with the fugitives, and took it without opposition, putting all the garrison to the sword. With this fortress in his rear to furnish a safe retreat, Iyeyasu pushed on with the whole of his army to Seki ga Hara, where he found the army of the league in his front.

Seki ga Hara (Moor of the Barrier) is a wide plain at the foot of Mount Ibuki, the mountain on which Yamatodake contracted his death-chill. It is crossed by the River Seki no Fuji, which takes its rise on the mountain and flows into the sea at the Gulf of Owari. The army of the league was encamped on the western bank of the river, where it lay in idle inaction, while Iyeyasu was vigorously capturing Gifu and bringing up all his force.

When he had collected his full strength, all he could muster was fifty thousand men. The league, on the other hand, had eighty thousand, but while there was only one supreme head of Iyeyasu's army, while all its elements were united in their own common interest and in devotion to and confidence in their general, that of the league had many chiefs, all suspicious of each other, without unanimity either of interest or sentiment, their only bond of union being hatred and jealousy of Iyeyasu. Treachery added itself to disunion on the day of the battle, and caused the battle to be, in fact, little more than a massacre. The army of the league included many veterans of the Korean War. Among its generals was Konishi Yukinaga, the Christian soldier, who had fought through the whole of that war and of the Kiushiu campaign, whose experience and skill were not inferior to those of Iyeyasu himself. But when the charge was sounded, and the battalions of the league began to move with colours flying, several of the generals, with their troops, marched straight over to the enemy. Panic seized the rest, veterans and recruits alike, and they fled in disorder, having scarcely struck a single blow. The Easterns, "falling on them like an avalanche," slaughtered them in thousands. A mound is still shown on the battlefield called Kubi dzuka, or head-pile, the counterpart of the Mimi dzuka in Kioto. Beneath it are said to be buried the heads of more than forty thousand men who were slain, more than half of the strength of the league's army. Only a few of the leaders, with their own immediate retainers, withstood the Eastern charge. Most were either slain or took the last Samurai step. Among them was Yukinaga, the Christian hero of a hundred fights. Seeing his army in a hopeless rout, he threw himself, sword in hand, among the pursuers, "slaying on every side, and bearing all down before him, till, overpowered and wounded from head to foot,

he was forced to surrender himself a prisoner." His religion forbade him to take his own life, as a Samurai should when all is lost, and rather than offend his God he chose to expose himself to an ignominious death and the reputation of a traitor to the inflexible code of honour of his class. Iyeyasu, who knew well the character and skill of his prisoner, endeavoured to enlist him on his own side, and, to tempt him, offered one of his granddaughters in marriage to Yukinaga's son. But nothing would seduce him from the allegiance to the child of Hideyoshi, his old master. His choice lay between ignominious death as a common criminal on the one side, and wealth, distinction and a continued career on the other, but he never wavered for an instant from the path of Christian duty. So he was condemned to die. To his judges he made only one prayer: that he might be allowed the services of a priest of the Church. It was referred to Iyeyasu, who, angry at his failure to bring to his side so great a man, refused it. Ishida Mitsunari, who was also taken prisoner, was likewise condemned to death, and when the day came both general and statesman were put into a common cart, their hands tied behind their backs, and thus publicly carried through the streets of the capital to the common execution ground on the bed of the River Kamo. The statesman was overcome with shame and ignominy, and bent his head in despair, but Yukinaga faced the mob of people with "an air of majesty that showed the greatness of his soul and the joy he found to share with his Saviour in His ignominy and torments."

Seki ga Hara was the third of the great decisive battles of Japan. Dan no Ura confirmed the absolute power of Yoritomo; Minatogawa that of Takauji, and Seki ga Hara now made Iyeyasu master of all Japan. Feudatories, who had stood aside or opposed him, hastened to offer their submission. Black-hearted

treachery was not always content with mere craven submission. Mori, the Lord of the Western Provinces, next to Iyeyasu, the most powerful feudatory in the Empire, one of the guardians of Hideyoshi's child, thought to win favour by murdering the son of Yukinaga, a boy of twelve years old, and sending his head to Iyeyasu. But the boy had been the possible husband of Iyeyasu's own granddaughter, and Iyeyasu was both disgusted and angry at the offering. While other nobles were pardoned in the general submission, Mori was mulcted of a large slice of his domains. All these events which have been described occurred in the year 1600, the great battle being fought in the month of October. Hideyoshi's son was now ten years of age, and was with his mother in the castle at Osaka. No one would have condemned Iyeyasu had he made away with the boy secretly or openly, and by so doing removed a possible danger in the future from his path. History told him the consequences that followed Kiyomori's mercy to Yoritomo under the same circumstances. But he had seen also the good results of Hideyoshi's clemency, and he determined to be guided by the later precedent. Of all the great leaders who had opposed him, only Yukinaga and Mitsunari were put to death. The others were forgiven, and Hideyoshi's widow and her child were assigned a revenue sufficient for their support, if not in the same splendour as Hideyoshi had lived, still in a style becoming nobles of the highest rank, and were left in undisturbed possession of the castle at Osaka.

Fortified both by claims of irresistible power and of birth, Iyeyasu was justified in asking for the resumption in his favour of the title of Sei-i-Tai-Shōgun, and it was conferred on him by the Emperor in 1603, so that henceforth he enjoyed both the reality and the name of the chief administrative authority in the Empire. He at once set about completing the task which Hideyoshi had

begun, of establishing the dual system of government on an enduring basis, and of ordering it in such a way that it would remain in the hands of his descendants. He had already acquired considerable experience in civil administration in his own great fief, which he now turned to benefit in the larger field of the whole Empire. With all his clemency, he had large confiscated estates to dispose of. These were naturally given to his own relatives and followers, and those held by his beaten foes or lukewarm supporters were redistributed in such a way as to render impracticable any future combination between them to the disturbance of the peace of the Empire. To his own sons were given the great fiefs of Owari, Kishiu[1] and Echizen, all commanding in various degrees the approaches to the capital. The confiscated provinces of the traitor, Mori, were given to Tokugawa, adherents of tried faith, so that they commanded what may be called the midlands of the Empire, and Mori himself, once the lord of eight provinces, the rival of Iyeyasu in wealth and power, was left only the provinces of Nagato and Suwo, in the extreme west, where he was harmless for national ill. The Eastern Provinces Iyeyasu retained in his own hands, to be his own and his successors' domains, and they effectually commanded all the more northern fiefs, from which, however, no disaffection to the Tokugawa cause was to be dreaded. When his grand scheme of the reorganization of the fiefs was complete, their number amounted to two hundred and ninety-two, of which eighteen comprised one or more provinces, and were of the first rank. Of the whole number, no less than a hundred and seventy-six were held by what were called Fudai lords. They were either relatives or vassals of the Tokugawa, or if not connected with them by ties of blood or service, had

[1] It is a common mistake among Europeans to confuse Kishiu and Kiushiu. Kiushiu is, of course, the great Southern Island. Kishiu is a province in the south-east of the Main Island.

shown their fealty by casting in their lot with Iyeyasu from the first, when his fate was still in the balance. They were distributed in strategic positions, principally in the main island, where their assistance was always at the call of the head of the family. To secure the good conduct of those not connected by blood with the Tokugawa, whose strength or the remoteness of their fiefs might induce them at any time to become restless under the authority of the central government which it was Iyeyasu's desire to render all-powerful in the Imperial matters—the details of local administration he left to the chiefs of each fief, so long as they created no scandal by cruelty or extortion towards their own people—each feudal chief was forced to spend part of each year in Yedo, the Shōgun's capital, and when he returned to his fief, to leave his wife and children in the capital as hostages for his good behaviour.[1] Every one was also obliged to obtain investiture from the Shōgun on each succession, and to maintain in his service and pay a number of armed retainers, proportionate to the wealth and extent of his domains, who were the soldiers of the Empire in time of need. The feudal chiefs and their armed retainers were the Daimio and Samurai, the territorial nobles and gentry of Japan.

The Ashikaga Shōguns lived at Kioto, but Iyeyasu determined to revert to the more ancient precedent of the Minamoto and Hōjō periods, and make his capital in his own home. Kamakura had fallen into utter decay, but Iyeyasu resolved to revive all its glories in his new capital at Yedo. He had chosen the site in 1590, when he was first enfeoffed with the Eastern Provinces; it had already acquired considerable importance when he became Shōgun, and with all the *éclat* that was given to it as the capital of the Shōgun, its growth advanced by leaps and bounds. The territorial nobles, obliged to

[1] This was only made a legal obligation by Iyeyasu's grandson, Iyemitsu.

spend part of each year in it, and accompanied on their visits by a huge train of followers, built palaces for their own and their retainers' accommodation, and vied with each other, while in residence, in the display of their splendour. There was, therefore, a constant flow of the wealth of the provinces to Yedo, and it became the home of luxury and all that was best in art and literature. Kioto, where the Emperor lived in his impotent seclusion, retained all the sanctity that was given to it by its ancient history, and by the fact that it was the residence of the Divine Sovereign, the Descendant of the Gods. Osaka retained and increased its commercial importance, but Yedo became the most populous and wealthy city of the Empire, the living centre of its political system. It not only revived but surpassed the glories of Kamakura.

Iyeyasu only held the title of Shōgun for two years. In 1605, while still in the full prime of his mental and physical vigour, following the ordinary Japanese custom,[1] he abdicated in favour of his son Hidetada, and retired to Shidzuoka, his original home prior to the founding of Yedo. The retirement from active life was only on the surface. He continued to keep a watchful eye on all the affairs of the state, and in the name of his son to exercise an authority no less absolute or universal than he had done while he retained the name as well as the reality of power. All was peaceful in the Empire, and the work of consolidation of the central government went steadily forward. But one source of disquiet still remained, one that might yet become the cause of the overthrow of the Tokugawa family, and bring upon them the fate that had befallen so many of their predecessors.

Hideyori, Hideyoshi's son, grew to manhood, and was deficient neither in capacity nor courage. He con-

[1] See page 74.

tinued to enjoy the revenue assigned to him by Iyeyasu, and to reside in the castle of Osaka with his mother, a woman of strong character, prudence and intelligence. Both son and mother were content with their condition, and neither desired to give cause of offence to the Shōgun, to whose bounty they owed both life and sustenance, and whose granddaughter was the wife of the son.

Unfortunately malcontents of the Empire gathered around them, feudatories whose estates were confiscated by Iyeyasu, retainers whose fortunes had perished with those of their lords, and soldiers whose trade seemed to be at an end, who had nothing to lose and everything to gain in another civil war. Hopes were gradually instilled into Hideyori's mind that he might one day recover the dignity of his father, and he gave a ready ear to those who told him that he had only to raise his standard to bring to its side all in the Empire who remembered and shared in his father's glories, and all who had suffered under Iyeyasu. Nothing of this was unknown to Iyeyasu. His spies and emissaries were everywhere, and reports of everything that occurred in Osaka were brought to him in his rural retreat at Shidzuoka as fast as the fleetest messengers could carry them. His conduct to Hideyori had not been wanting in disingenuousness. He had persuaded the young man, full of reverence to the memory of his father, that it was his duty to rebuild the great temple of Daibutsu at Kioto, destroyed in the earthquake of 1596, in the hope that his revenues would thereby be so depleted that nothing would be left for the support of the soldiers who were resorting to Osaka. It was in the year 1610 that Iyeyasu urged this project on Hideyori, and its magnitude may be estimated from the fact that it required four years to carry it out. The temple was completed in 1614, and its dedication was fixed for the close of the year. Three

thousand priests were already assembled for the ceremony from all the great Buddhist foundations throughout the country, and all the people, both of Kioto and Osaka and of all the country around, had gathered in crowds for a festival of rare splendour and holiness, when, at the last moment, when the priests had actually commenced the service, mounted messengers arrived in hot haste from Iyeyasu, in his retirement, far away at Shidzuoka, with orders that the dedication ceremony should be stopped. It is said that he considered the inscriptions on the great bell of the temple were personally offensive. The bell was in keeping with the general magnificence of the temple, and was in itself a triumph of the founder's art. It was fourteen feet in height, and its weight exceeded sixty-three tons. On the one side it bore the inscription: "May the State be peaceful and prosperous," and on the other: "On the East it welcomes the bright moon, and on the West it bids farewell to the setting sun." Unfortunately the third and fourth syllables in the first inscription, "Kokka Anko" in the original, though when read in Sinico-Japanese gave sounds of "Ka" and "Ko," when pronounced in pure Japanese are read as Iyeyasu, and the combined effect of the two inscriptions was, Iyeyasu alleged, an offensive comparison between himself and Hideyoshi, in which Hideyoshi was likened to the great Sun Goddess of Japan, and he to the minor luminary of the night.

The indignation both of Hideyori and of his mother at this affront and of the people, disappointed both of their pleasure and the opportunity of displaying their religious fervour, was great, and on the people's part it took the form of a serious riot. A deputation was sent to Iyeyasu of the two leading citizens of Kioto, accompanied by two ladies to represent Hideyori's mother, to assure him that no offence was intended; but the old recluse was implacable. He had determined to quarrel

with Hideyori, and he had now found an ostensible cause, and, trivial as it was, he determined to use it. He gave the deputation three conditions to take back with them on which alone he was willing to condone the alleged insult: (1) That the outer works of the castle at Osaka should be destroyed. (2) That Hideyori should leave the castle, his father's residence, in which he had been born and passed his whole life, to which he was bound by every tie of affection and interest, and reside for the future in another province. (3) That Hideyori's mother, from whom he had never been separated, by whom he had been wisely guided through all the dangerous times through which he had passed, should in future reside in Yedo, under the direct eye of the Shōgun, as a hostage for the son's good conduct.

The castle of Osaka still exists, shorn only of its donjon and outer works, and of the great palace which stood within its walls. Its strength and situation equally testify to the military engineering skill of the Japanese in the sixteenth century. Saris, one of the earliest English visitors to Japan, described it, and his description in its main points applies to it at the present day—

"A castle marvellously large and strong, with very deep trenches about it and many drawbridges with gates plated with iron. The castle is built all of free stone with bulwarks and battlements, with loopholes for small shot and arrows, and divers passages from which to cast stones upon the assailants. The walls are at least six to seven feet thick, all of solid stone. The stones are great, and cut so exactly to fit the place where they are laid that no mortar is used."

Some of the stones in the wall measure forty by ten feet. The outer moat, not now in existence, varied from eighty to a hundred and twenty feet in width, and the depth of the water in it from ten to twelve feet. Within the castle was the great palace, the most splendid that

ever was built in Japan, "a wonderfully costly house gilded with gold in abundance."

The indignation aroused by Iyeyasu's wanton arbitrariness brought great additions to Hideyori's adherents, so much so that room could not be found for all in the castle, and many were forced to encamp beyond its walls. Confident in the impregnable strength of the castle, defended by a great force, Hideyori gave a categorical refusal to all Iyeyasu's demands. Both sides then prepared for the inevitable test of arms, Hideyori laying in an ample store of provisions—there was an inexhaustible well, called the "O-gon-sui" (the yellow metal water), within the walls—and Iyeyasu, mobilizing his army, and also, following his usual methods, suborning the governor of the castle, whom he promised to create one of the greatest lords in Japan. The governor, "being as arrant a cheat himself," promised faithfully to betray both the castle and his lord. His treachery was, however, discovered in time to prevent him carrying out his designs, though not to prevent his escape from the castle.

In due course Iyeyasu's army appeared. The castle was invested, trenches opened, and several assaults made—all in vain. The garrison not only beat off every attack, but made several successful sallies. Iyeyasu again had recourse to treachery. Another high officer within the walls was bribed. On this occasion the traitor was discovered in good time, and Iyeyasu's designs turned to his own undoing. He was allowed to remain in the belief that nothing had gone wrong, and when his men advanced in the darkness of night, believing that the gates would be opened to them, the defenders suddenly fell on them and drove them back in utter rout with enormous loss.

Iyeyasu now began to realize that he had undertaken a task which was beyond his power. His own men were

deserting, and his resources were being taxed to the utmost. He humbled his pride so far as to send proposals for peace. Within the castle, the store of provisions, great though it was, had begun to run very low, and amidst such a heterogeneous garrison, gathered from all parts, treachery was also to be feared; Hideyori, on his side, therefore readily received Iyeyasu's overtures, and peace was concluded [1] on the conditions that, on the one side, Iyeyasu should disband his army and interfere no more in Hideyori's affairs, and on the other, that the outer moat of the castle should be destroyed.

Hideyori loyally observed his part of the bargain, and the great moat was filled up and levelled with the ground in three weeks. Iyeyasu was still determined to destroy him, and only withdrew to recuperate his forces and supplies. Within a few months the siege was renewed. The castle was now shorn of one of its main defences, but the garrison was still strong and determined, and all the first assaults were beaten off as before. Then a general assault of the whole besieging army was ordered. It was "sharp and bloody," but once more victory was on the side of the defenders. Iyeyasu's whole army was driven back, and he, giving up all as lost, had given directions to his own bodyguard to strike off his head, so that it should not fall into the enemy's hands. One of the strange transformations in the fortunes of war, of which the world's history, both ancient and modern, gives so many examples, then occurred, and in a moment defeat was turned into victory. A fire broke out within the castle. Whether it was accidental or deliberately kindled by traitors has never been disclosed. Hideyori,

[1] Both parties signed the compact in the most solemn form that is known to Japanese—with their blood. Iyeyasu, who had not the least intention of keeping it, compounded with his conscience in a fashion somewhat similar to that adopted by perjuring witnesses in English courts of justice who kiss their thumbs instead of the book. He drew the blood from his ear instead of from the gums as he should have done.

in the impetuosity of youth, led the pursuit of his beaten foes. Seeing the fire, he turned and galloped back at full speed, and his soldiers, seeing him pass, turned and fled with him. The besiegers rallied; the pursued, recovered from their panic, became pursuers, and, carrying all before them, entered the castle along with the fugitives, and the great virgin fortress was at last taken. It is not known how Hideyori and his mother died. Neither was ever seen again, though the most diligent search was made for them after the battle. Two Jesuit priests were in Osaka throughout both sieges, and, according to their reports, more than two hundred thousand men fell on both sides in the last siege and capture. One of them travelled "two whole days over dead bodies." It was one of the most bloody struggles in the history of Japan. The battle of Seki ga Hara confirmed the government of the Empire by Iyeyasu. Osaka was taken on the 1st of June, 1615, and its fall insured the transmission of Iyeyasu's power to the successors of his own family.

Iyeyasu was now seventy-three years of age. He was severely wounded in the battle, and the consequences of the wound at his age were likely to be serious. Whether it was from his anger at seeing his own life was to be the penalty of his crowning mercy, or that he determined to give such a lesson as would prevent rebellion in the future, need not be discussed, but, whatever his reasons, he now departed entirely from his previous policy. Hitherto he had shown clemency and endeavoured to conciliate his beaten foes. Now he exterminated them. Hideyori left one son, the child, not of his wife, Iyeyasu's granddaughter, but of a concubine, a boy of seven years of age, who was taken alive. The boy had his father's courage, and when brought before Iyeyasu taunted him with his perjury. He was ordered to instant execution with all the ignominy of a common criminal.

Iyeyasu returned to Shidzuoka. He never recovered

from his wound, and died on the 8th of March in the following year, leaving to his son the legacy of a government firmly established, with no possible rival claimant throughout the entire Empire.

In the Japanese Pantheon there are certain Gods who are regarded as earthly incarnations of Buddha, and are known as Gongen, and Temples in their honour are found everywhere, both in towns and villages. Iyeyasu, after his death, was included among them, and just as Hideyoshi is known as Taikō Sama or *The* Taikō, so is Iyeyasu honoured in the description, higher than Hideyoshi's, because it is divine, whereas his is only earthly, or Gongen Sama, or *The* Gongen.

Iyeyasu was only one of the military adventurers in Japan who rose to the highest authority in the Empire, but he was unique among all in that he not only founded a dynasty which lasted for 268 years, but he ruled with so strong a hand and was able to transmit to his successors a Government based on such secure foundations, that both he and they were able to preserve unbroken peace throughout the entire Empire while their dynasty lasted, and to maintain as their hereditary and acknowledged right an authority and precedence that were originally founded only on military strength. Kiyomori, Yoritomo, Nobunaga, and Hideyoshi all ruled in their lifetime as dictators, but none succeeded in securing the continued succession of his posterity to his own dignities. The Hōjō contrived to hold the reins of Government for 130 years, and the Ashikaga for 235 years, but both depended for their influence entirely on their military strength, and when that failed them, both families fell. The Hōjō, when at the height of their power, maintained peace throughout those portions of the Empire that were immediately under their influence. The Ashikaga failed even in that, and in the last century of their rule had only a shadow of authority

which was contemptuously disregarded by the great feudal princes, every one of whom was anxious to increase his own fief at the expense of his neighbours, and the inter-clan wars of these princes never ceased to add to the misery and impoverishment of the people. For over 250 years not a murmur was ever raised of rebellion or even of impatience with the Government of the Tokugawas; not a sound was heard of local wars among the territorial magnates, all of whom were the equals in birth and many but little inferior in wealth and strength to the family of the Shōguns, before whom they were content to bow their heads in reverential homage, to whose mandates they rendered an unquestioning obedience. It was but natural that they should do so while Iyeyasu still lived and had all the prestige of his unbroken career of victory, and of his acknowledged military genius. Few—only one, perhaps, his grandson, the third Shōgun—could lay claim to even an approach to his ability or commanding strength of character, and judging from all the previous history of Japan, it is unlikely that the Tokugawas could have succeeded where others utterly failed, had it not been for the system of government organized by the great founder of the dynasty and faithfully followed by his successors, a system which shows that Iyeyasu was not only a great general and civil governor, but a constructive statesman of the highest order of genius, able to profit by all the lessons of the past in establishing a government which would be saved from the errors and pitfalls that had been the ruin of its predecessors. During the last years of his life, in the comparative leisure which he enjoyed in his retirement at Shidzuoka in the interval between his abdication of the Shōgunate in favour of his son and his last campaigns at Osaka, he was a deep student of history and literature, and from his studies and his own experience of life he was able to compile

—he specifically disclaims originality himself—for the benefit of his posterity, a code of moral and political precepts, which he bequeathed to them as their Bible, by which they were to be guided in their relations with the Emperor, their own officials, the territorial magnates, the Samurai and the people. It is known as the "Yuigon" or "Legacy" of Iyeyasu, and that it was intended for the direct benefit of his own successors, as a guide only for them in their conduct in the office which he designed to be hereditary, is shown by its own internal evidence and by the fact that it was never published or known to the people till the dynasty was near its fall. The original was preserved in Kioto, but a copy was kept in the Shōgun's court in Yedo, where none but the members of the Gorōjiu—council of elders or the cabinet—had access to it. As the manifestation of the principles which guided Iyeyasu in his own life, as the explanation of the social system and of the feudal life in Japan which endured throughout his dynasty, it is full of interest.

The whole consists of one hundred concise chapters, not arranged in any logical sequence, but each dealing with one separate subject. Seven of them relate to incidents in Iyeyasu's own career; sixteen contain moral maxims, and ten practical instructions for the personal guidance of his successors in the details of their government. Fourteen chapters are devoted to the peculiar privileges and duties of Samurai. The common people are, however, not forgotten, and there are chapters dealing with marriage, inheritance and adoption, agriculture, the building of farm houses, the maintenance of roads and villages, taxation, and the general care that is to be taken for the welfare of the people and to prevent their oppression by the princes. Other chapters are devoted to the succession to the Shōgunate; to the constitution of the executive; to the freedom of religion,

"always excepting the false and corrupt school" of Christianity; to criminal law, punishments and rewards; to precedence among the Daimios; and to the maintenance of the castles of the Shōguns.

"The married state is the great relation of mankind," and there are therefore chapters enjoining marriage at the age of sixteen years; providing for adoption in the case of childlessness, so as to insure the continuity of the family; defining the mutual spheres of husband and wife; regulating concubinage and the relation of the wife to the concubine, and prescribing the penalties for adultery. The basis of all piety in the national morality was the respect due by children to their parents or elders, by vassals to their lords, by servants to their masters. Iyeyasu advises his successors that the same Heaven cannot cover a man and the murderer (direct or indirect) of father, mother, elder brother, master or lord, and that vengeance is a sacred duty. But this principle might possibly be made a pretext for wanton murder, or if recklessly carried out might disturb the public peace. Notice must therefore be given to the proper authorities of the intention to perform this duty, else the avenger too may be treated as a criminal. And when a servant or a vassal attempts to or kills master or lord, his guilt is so great that it extends to all his relations, and all must be destroyed with him, not by master or lord, but by the public officers of justice.

History showed that the Hōjō regents and the Ashikaga Shōguns brought upon themselves the odium of posterity by the want of reverence which, in the intoxication of their own military pride, they displayed towards the Emperors, the Sons of Heaven, to whom alone they owed all their legal authority, and also that their insolent domination, when at the height of their power, over the territorial princes, who were their own equals in rank, and the hatred and jealousy which it provoked,

contributed to their ultimate downfall. Iyeyasu warned his successors against both errors. They were not only to provide for the necessary expenditure of the Emperor on special occasions, such as accession to the throne or great national festivals, but always to display a reverential homage, not only to the Emperor, but to the Imperial princes, and the nobles of the Imperial Court, the Kugé—who all shared in the prestige of the Imperial divinity. To the Samurai, among whom the Daimios are included, they were in like manner enjoined to act with courtesy, to avoid oppression and injustice, but at the same time they were to select their principal ministers and officers only from those Daimios whose relationship or long connection with the Tokugawas ensured their unchanging fidelity. Prior to Iyeyasu's time, the territorial princes were divided into two classes —the Daimios (great names), who were either princes of whole provinces (Kokushu) or of territories that did not comprise an entire province (Riyoshu), and Shōmios (small names), or lords of castles (Jōshu). He altered this division into those of Fudai and Tozama, the former being the territorial princes who pledged themselves and their fealty to him before his final triumph at the taking of Osaka, and the latter those who only did so after Hideyori's death removed the last of the possible rivals to his future career. From the former he directed that all the principal ministers and officers of the Government should be exclusively chosen. The whole prosperity of the Empire depended upon the continued preservation of peace that it might recover all that had been lost in the long civil wars. It was to be his successor's main object to secure that peace, and they could only do so by assisting the people; by treating the Samurai courteously but firmly, not being too apt to view as crimes what might be only trivial faults or even differences of opinion; by preventing malfeasance on

the part of the officials, and selecting them with wise consideration of their merits and qualifications; by themselves setting the example of observing the laws of industry and sober lives; by a just distribution both of rewards and punishments; by pursuing and sternly punishing those guilty of heinous crimes; above all, perhaps, by carefully preserving harmony between the lord and vassal, between the Emperor and Shōgun, the Shōgun and the Daimios, and between all the people. These were the leading principles which were the foundation of Iyeyasu's own successful rule, and by them he hoped that his successors would be for ever guided.[1]

[1] The full translation of the legacy of Iyeyasu is given in Appendix V.

CHAPTER XIII

CHRISTIANITY TO THE FIRST PERSECUTION

OUR story has hitherto concerned itself only with the Japanese people. We have now to tell that of the intercourse between Europe and Old Japan. Religion and trade were so closely associated and so intertwined that it is difficult to tell the story of one entirely independently of the other, but we shall endeavour to discriminate between them and to tell each in its proper place. First we shall take that of religion. What we shall tell of it will be in the main condensed from the *History of the Church in Japan*, a work to which we have already referred and from which we have made many quotations, in which the missionary labours of the Fathers are modestly described without undue laudation or magnification of what they did or suffered. Its narrative bears throughout a strong impress of the truth, but we shall tell nothing that has not been amply confirmed by the results of the researches of modern European scholars in the Japanese annals of the time, and horrible though it is in many of its details, what we shall tell of it in this chapter may be accepted as the faithful and unvarnished story of what actually occurred, nothing but the truth, if not the whole of the painful truth.

In the year 1543, a Japanese rich and well born, about thirty-five years of age, arrived at Malacca in a Portuguese ship from Japan. There he met Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit missionary, perhaps the greatest missionary the world has seen since St. Paul, then in the

full tide of his proselytizing career in the Far East, by whom he was converted to Christianity. The disciple also in a sense converted the apostle. Xavier was so interested in what he was told of Japan that he determined to visit it himself, notwithstanding the strong protestations of his co-religionists in Goa and Malacca, both priests and converts, against his abandonment of the great but unfinished work which he was successfully carrying on in the Portuguese colonies, in order to undertake a hazardous journey, through unknown and dangerous seas, infested with pirates, to a still more unknown country, of whose language and people he was equally ignorant.

The great missionary felt that God had given him a new field which it was his duty to cultivate, and having bid farewell to his friends and disciples, he sailed from Goa, and after a long voyage arrived at Malacca.

There he took passage in a Chinese junk, the master of which was a notorious pirate, and sailed for Japan on the 24th of June, 1549. The voyage fully justified all the forecasts of its dangers, but it was happily completed, and Xavier landed at Kagoshima on the Feast of the Assumption in the same year. He was accompanied by two other priests, Cosmo de Torres and John Fernandez, the former "one of the greatest wits and learned'st men of his time," and by the converted Japanese, who was now known by his new baptismal name, Paul Saint Foy, Paul of the Holy Faith, who, in his stay at Goa, had learned to speak and write Portuguese. Kagoshima happened to be Saint Foy's birthplace. The Prince of Satsuma, then in the very plenitude of his prosperity, learning of their arrival, at once sent for Saint Foy, by whom Xavier was soon presented to him.

Their stay at Kagoshima lasted little over a year. The Prince and his mother were both interested and impressed by what they heard from Xavier, and a hun-

dred converts were made by his exhortations, interpreted by Saint Foy, who afterwards remained firm in their faith through all trials, but the native priests so worked upon the conscience of the Prince, holding out to him the perils he incurred by forsaking the Gods of his ancestors at the bidding of three foreign beggars, that he forbade his people to become Christians under dire penalties. Xavier accordingly left Kagoshima and went to Hirado, then the chief seat of the foreign trade of Japan. Some Portuguese ships happened to be in harbour when he arrived, and the Japanese, always susceptible to outward pomp and show, were astounded to see the ships decked and salutes fired to the accompaniment of bugles, in honour of a poor priest in an old threadbare cassock, and the richly dressed Portuguese officers conduct him with every mark of deference to the palace of the local Prince.

A mission was established at Hirado, and leaving De Torres in charge of it, Xavier set out for Kioto, to obtain the licence of the Emperor and Shōgun to preach the Gospel in all Japan. Fernandez and a Japanese Christion accompanied him. They passed by Yamaguchi, the capital of Mori, the Prince of Chōshiu and the Western Provinces, where they abode a month, and then started for Kioto. The land journey from Yamaguchi to Kioto is little over 300 miles, but they were three months upon the road. It was midwinter, the most inclement season of the year, and they had neither money nor guides.

"These three servants of God made their journey in this hard season, and these rough ways, commonly barefoot, having to pass rivers and torrents, which sometimes overflow the plains; besides, they were ill provided with warm clothes to resist the inclemencies of the air; they were also laden with their necessary equipage; and thus they travelled without any other Supports of Life, than a little rice roasted

or dried by the fire, which Bernard carried in his sleeve by way of a Wallet, so that they were forced to take up at night at the first place they met, both weary, wet and spent for want of food; happy when they could light on some forsaken hut to shelter them in the night from wind and rain; for being extremely poor, the people looked upon them with contempt and refused them lodging.

"That which gave them the greatest trouble was the want of guides, for they continually lost their ways, and knew not what path to follow; being one day lost in a forest they met a horseman, who was going towards Kioto. Xavier followed him, and offered to carry his mail if he would conduct them through the forest. The horseman accepted his offer, but trotted on at a round rate, so that the Saint was constrained to run after him over flints and thorns, which tore his feet, and this fatigue lasted almost all the day."

In February 1551, they at last reached Kioto. It was a time of the utmost disorder. The Ashikaga Shōguns were drawing to their fall, and the capital, wasted by fires and war, was a daily scene of riot and broils between rival clansmen. Xavier, who had by this time acquired some experience in the language, tried to preach in the public places of the city, but no one had leisure or inclination to listen to him. His keen perception aided him in learning that the Emperor had no real authority at all, and that the effective authority of the Shōgun did not extend beyond the Go Kinai, the five provinces around the capital. Their licence to preach would be useless for the rest of the country; preaching was equally useless in Kioto in its present condition, so it was abandoned to wait for better times and the mission resumed at Yamaguchi. Here, and later in Bungo, Xavier and his fellow workers met with success that made ample amends for the failure at Kioto, and not only was a knowledge of the Gospel widely spread, but converts were made in every class in life. Letters earnestly imploring his return to the Indies now came to him, so earnest that he could no longer resist them, and having

founded his mission in Japan, having made the first converts and seen that the great work was fully organized, he sailed from Bungo about the end of November 1551. He took with him two natives whom he wished to send to Rome as the firstfruits of the Church of Japan. One died on the way at Goa, the other—the same who had accompanied him on his pilgrimage to Kioto—reached Rome and afterwards entered the Jesuit College at Coimbra, where he also died. Xavier himself died at Chang Cheung, a little island near the mouth of the Canton River, on the 2nd of December, 1552, when, after a visit to his beloved Church at Goa, "having brought the East under the sweet yoke of Jesus Christ," he was on the point of embarking on a new missionary enterprise in China.

De Torres and Fernandez remained to carry on the work in Japan, and now that the new field was known in Europe, a steady stream of able and ardent Jesuit missionaries, full of zeal and devotion, began to flow to it. Three, Balthazar Gago, Lalcaceva, and Da Silva, accompanied Xavier when on his way to Canton, and left him at Malacca for Japan, where they arrived in August 1552. They were followed, three years later, by Melchior Nunez, the Provincial of the Indies, Gaspar Villela and other priests, all of whom were richly provided with funds for their future work by Mendez Pinto, the Portuguese merchant adventurer, who was one of the earliest Europeans to visit Japan, and who made a fortune in trading between the Indies and China and Japan. The work now rapidly spread. Bungo, where Xavier had his greatest success, was the centre, but during the next fifteen years Churches were founded at such widely separated places as Kioto and the Goto Islands; Sakai, the port of Kioto, and Yamaguchi; Hakata and Shimabara, and the converts included feudal Princes and their ladies, courtiers, the flower

of the nobility, officers of high rank, soldiers and people. "The Church was now like a vine that spreads its branches on all sides, breathing out in its flowers a sweet odour of sanctity among the heathen." The internal conditions of Japan had now changed. Nobunaga was at the zenith of his fame and might, and had made up his mind to break the military power of the Buddhist priests. He saw what a factor the Christian missionaries would be in undermining their religious influence, and he therefore gave the Christians full licence to preach their gospel in every place where his own influence extended, more especially in the very hearts of the chief Buddhist strongholds. "Buddhism," he said, "had been introduced from abroad, and he saw no reason why obstacles should be thrown in the way of another foreign religion." He gave very practical illustration of his liberality by permitting the erection of a church in his own city of Azuchi, at the very door of the great temple which he built for his own deification. The opposition of the Buddhist priests was bitter, though there were converts even from their ranks. They stirred up frequent riots in the two important fiefs of Omura and Arima, revolutions in which churches were destroyed and the Fathers in imminent danger, but still converts came in abundance, and there were now also Japanese priests of the Church who were no less zealous propagandists than the Fathers themselves. Ladies of high birth also took the holy vows and gave their lives and services to the Church as nuns.

After Nobunaga's death in 1582, Hideyoshi for a few years pursued Nobunaga's policy of toleration, though he had never sympathized with it. At first he even exceeded Nobunaga in marked courtesy to the heads of the Church. He permitted the ladies of the Court, maids of honour to his wives, who were Christians, whose modesty and piety particularly impressed him, to attend

Mass, and hinted that he himself would become a Christian were it not for its inhibition of one of the great frailties of human nature, common to Princes of all lands and all ages, in which Hideyoshi himself particularly indulged. In 1587, thirty-eight years from Xavier's landing in Japan, "the Church was grown so fair and flourishing that one might well compare it to an orange-tree laden on all sides with fruit and blossom. It was a ship under full sail, driven by the wind of the Holy Ghost, daily discovering new places and countries." There were more than 200,000 Christians. Then a new and unfortunate condition was created for which the Christians were themselves in some degree to blame.

Four causes are assigned by the Jesuit Fathers for the sudden change which took place in Hideyoshi's demeanour towards them, which made him the Nero instead of the protector of the Church. First, the dissolute conduct of the Portuguese merchants and sailors in Japan, so much at variance both with the lives of the priests and the doctrine preached by them. They spent days and nights in debaucheries, and when the Fathers reprehended them, they put into other ports at which the Fathers had no residence, where they continued to give the most unrestrained licence to their passions. This cause will read strangely when in juxtaposition with the next. Hideyoshi's own reason for not adopting Christianity has just been stated. He was married no less than six times, but he maintained a seraglio of nearly 300 women at Osaka. He was always adding to them, and as he could not carry them with him on his various military expeditions, he required that others should be provided for him in every place to which he came. A Buddhist priest who had forsaken the priesthood and become a physician, whose name is given as Hiakunin, was his principal servitor in these delicate matters, and this person made it his business to search

out everywhere fair and beautiful ladies and none, no matter what their rank, dare resist him. But his proposals were indignantly rejected by the Christian ladies in Arima, and furious not only at his failure, but at the reproaches which the ladies heaped on him for such vile traffic on the part of one who had been a priest, he used all his influence to inflame Hideyoshi's anger against the Christians in general, and especially at the greatest convert that had yet come within the fold of the Church, Takayama Ukon, one of Hideyoshi's most distinguished and favourite generals, the one who defeated the traitor, Akechi, the murderer of Nobunaga. Lastly, Hideyoshi's abnormal vanity was offended in two ways. A Portuguese ship of more than the ordinary tonnage had just arrived at Hirado. Hideyoshi, curious to see it, ordered that it should be brought to the port of Hakata, where he was at the time, but as this harbour would not admit the entry of so large a vessel, deeply laden, the captain was obliged to refuse, which he did with every possible courtesy. Hideyoshi none the less considered the refusal an affront. A still greater and a continuing affront was the obstacle which he saw Christianity must always be to his own deification, the great object of his ambition, as one of the national heroes of Japan.

The combined result of all these causes of offence to Hideyoshi was an order to the Fathers to leave Japan within twenty days, and an absolute prohibition of any further preaching of the Gospel on pain of death.

So far we have told the story of the change of Hideyoshi's attitude to Christianity and the origin of the persecution entirely from the point of view of the Jesuit Fathers, but there is another side to it. Xavier and his companions came to Japan in all outward humility, poor in dress and in means of subsistence, and, as will be seen from what has been told of their early work and experience, presenting to the Japanese only the aspects

of the humblest of the poor. It was not long before their successors, flushed with their great triumphs, began to adopt a very different attitude and to claim the rank and all its privileges which they had enjoyed in their own countries, where they had all the terrors of the Inquisition to support them. The Buddhist priests were never more active and implacable foes to the Catholic missionaries than the missionaries showed themselves, when they felt sure of their influence, to the priests, a fact for which there is no need to have recourse for its confirmation to native sources, whether Buddhist or otherwise. It is fully shown in the *History of the Church*. The Princes of Arima, Omura, Amakusa and Bungo were among the earliest converts. There is no need to question the sincerity of the conversion in any of these cases, and in some the fullest proof was given of it in the days of the persecution when the Princes suffered loss of rank, property and life rather than abjure their faith. But the conversion had its material as well as its spiritual benefits. In each case the seaports of the fiefs of the converted princes became seats of foreign trade with all its huge profits, and still more with the means of furnishing an unlimited supply of firearms, of the latest pattern, and gunpowder, both valuable acquisitions at a period of universal civil war, when the authority of the Central Government was scarcely felt in the remote provinces, when every feudal prince's hands were directed against his neighbour, when estates could only be retained or added to by military force. And when the princes were converted it was not a difficult matter to induce their feudal subjects to follow their example. Persecution was, in fact, originated by the Fathers themselves. They tell exultingly of how one prince destroyed great temples which had existed for centuries and idols which were ancient works of art, and drove the Buddhist priests headlong

from his territories: how others ordered all, whether lay or cleric, who were not Christians to leave their dominions, forsaking home and property; and all these steps were taken under the Fathers' influence, if not at their instigation. Two quotations from the *History of the Church* will serve to illustrate both the original spirit of the converted princes and the means they took to testify their zeal—

"The Prince of Omura wrote to Father Torres and promised if he would send over some of his Religious, that he would both build a Church and give them a sufficient fund for maintaining them and all others who came thither on that same account. Secondly, that he would give the Portuguese a seaport, free from all taxes and customs, with all the fiefs belonging to it for two leagues about, and not let any heathen remain there without the Father's express leave. Moreover, on condition the Portuguese landed in the same port, he was resolved to exempt them and all others that trafficked with them from all duties and imports belonging to the Crown for ten years together."

"The divine spirit inspired the Prince with such horror of the Heathenish superstitions, that he could not hold from persecuting them. The Japanese adore an idol called Hachiman, the God of War, and this idol wears an helmet with a spread cock for the crest. The Princes being for the most part at variance, they pay particular honour to this God, and never enter upon a war before they consult this idol about the event. When the armies make their rendezvous, the Troops constantly pass by this temple, and every soldier makes a profound reverence to the Idol, lays down his arms and kisses the Standard for a sign of respect and submission. The Prince coming before this temple, commanded his Army to make a halt, and in great transports of zeal, ordered them to break down the idol and drag it about the streets; then drawing his sword he struck at the Cock and helmet, and never ceased until he had cut off the head. His zeal did not stop here, for he made them in conclusion burn both the idol and the temple; then erecting a Cross, he prostrated himself before it, and the whole army did the same after his example; he afterwards

dispatched some squadrons throughout the Kingdom to ruin all the idols and temples, without any regard to the Priests' rage, which so much frightened him before baptism."

If the lower classes yielded readily to the orders of their princes to become Christians, they showed a very different aspect afterwards in the dark days of the Church. Few, when persecution came, abandoned their faith under the most horrible tortures that were only ended by death.

Kaempfer states—and it is to be remembered that, hostile as he was to the Portuguese and their religion, his history was written long after both had been finally driven from Japan, and when there was no material benefit to be gained by libelling either—that the haughty conduct of the priests, and their refusal to pay the ordinary marks of respect to the great men of the Empire, contributed not a little to Hideyoshi's anger against them—

"I was told by an old Japanese, that the following incident, with many more of the like nature, very much incensed the Emperor, and hastened his resolution to let the proud Portuguese feel the effects of his displeasure. Taikō,[1] to be nearer at hand to second his expedition into Korea, set up his Court and residence for some time at Hakata. One day a Portuguese priest meeting upon the road one of the principal Counsellors of state on his way to Court, caused himself to be carried by without alighting from his chair, as is usual in the country, nay, indeed, without showing him so much as common marks of respect and civility."

It is not difficult to imagine how conduct such as this, wanting even in the elements of ordinary courtesy, must have inflamed the anger of the nobility of a nation where politeness is the universal rule and the most profound

[1] Hideyoshi. Taikō was the title given to the Kuambaku after his retirement. Hideyoshi is best known in history as Taikō Sama, *the* Taikō, the greatest of all who ever held the title (see pages 191 and 221). By "the Emperor" in this quotation is meant Hideyoshi.

respect is manifested in public to both rank and office. The priests, in fact, forgot that they were in Japan and not in their own country, and their doing so no doubt was one of the contributory causes of all their later sufferings.

Both Fathers and native Christians were overwhelmed by the totally unexpected blow which had fallen on them, as surprising to the non-Christian Japanese as it was to themselves. Both behaved with the most admirable prudence and fortitude in their hour of trial. A conference of all the Fathers, seventy in number, was held, and they all met at Hirado in August 1587. They decided to pray that Hideyoshi's heart should be softened; that, if the prayers were not answered, the Fathers should remain at their posts even to the sacrifice of their lives; that they should in future hold their services and carry on their mission in private, as was done in heretical countries in Europe, and do nothing to cause open offence; and that they should prepare themselves by prayer and mortification to suffer torments or death for the Holy Faith. As for the converts, though they were threatened with death or banishment, not a soul wavered. Takayama, great general and feudal prince, was ordered to renounce his religion or forfeit both office and property. He chose poverty for himself and all that were dear to him, and his example was followed by hundreds of others, both men and women. Two exceptions were made in the general persecution. Konishi Yukinaga, afterwards the conqueror of Korea, and Kuroda Yoshitaka were both generals and devoted Christians. Dreading to add to the heavy loss which he suffered by dismissing Takayama, Hideyoshi was obliged to dissemble his anger in their case. Both were retained in their rank and offices, and both, through the personal influence which they exercised on Hideyoshi, were afterwards able to render

great services to the Christians. The blow was not so heavy in its fall as in its threats. The Fathers all took refuge in the territories of Christian feudatories, where they were kindly treated, and pursued their work in the secrecy they had enjoined upon themselves. Churches were ruthlessly levelled to the ground, and there were some instances of converts who lost their lives for the faith, but within a few years an incident occurred which gave brighter prospects.

In 1582 the Princes of Arima, Bungo and Omura, all converts, at the suggestion of the Fathers dispatched a mission to the Pope of four nobly born youths. The mission, which was accompanied by Father Valignani, the Provincial of the Order in Japan, arrived in Rome in 1585, and they were received with every mark of high honour by Pope Gregory XIII and generally fêted in the capital. On reaching Goa on their return journey, accompanied both by Father Valignani and seventeen new missionaries of the Church, they heard of the persecution. The priests were in doubt as to whether they should proceed or not, but Father Valignani, having received a letter from the Viceroy of the Indies accrediting him as ambassador to Japan, they decided to do so, and continuing with the mission, finally arrived at Nagasaki on the 21st of July, 1590, Valignani and the Japanese having thus been absent for eight years. Before continuing our narrative we may turn aside for a moment to relate an incident only indirectly connected with our subject.

The island of Amakusa, a small island in the south of Kiushiu, covering the entrance to the Shimabara Gulf, was the fief of a prince who was numbered among the Christians. He revolted against Hideyoshi, not as a Christian, but for political reasons, probably thinking that he would be secure in the remoteness and inaccessibility of his island. A force was sent to punish him

commanded by Konishi Yukinaga, the Christian general, and Kato Kiyomasa, who hated all Christians, the two generals who later on commanded the Japanese army in the great invasion of Korea, and they quickly overran the island and laid siege to the castle. Here Yukinaga would have spared the defenders, but his colleague insisted on a general assault, and in the fight nearly all the defenders were killed. Then three hundred women, unwilling to survive their husbands, took up their swords and, running to the breach in the walls, beat back the besiegers and filled the ditches with their dead. Victory hung in suspense for some time, but the besiegers rallied and charged again, and all the women were cut in pieces and the castle taken.

Considerable delay occurred while Hideyoshi's objections to receive Valignani at Court were being overcome, but at last his consent was given on the strict condition that it was as ambassador and not as priest that Valignani was presented to him. Once this understanding was clearly established, every possible honour was rendered to the ambassador by the Court. He was lodged in a palace in Kioto, formerly occupied by Hideyoshi himself; a high officer of the Court was sent to conduct him to the audience; and carriages and richly caparisoned horses were provided for himself and his retinue. In the hall of audience, Hideyoshi, clad in gold brocade all shining with pearls, was seated on a high throne, over which there was a rich canopy hung with the best tapestry of China, and the whole hall was lined by all the grand officers of state. The walls and wainscots were inlaid with gold, wrought in curious figures of birds and flowers. On his side, the Father's procession to the Palace was worthy of his new function. It was on the first Sunday in Lent in 1591.

"First of all a fine Arabian horse covered with carnation-coloured velvet, plate harness and gold stirrups. The Viceroy

of the Indies had sent two, but one died on the way. Two young men clad in long robes of silk, with turbans, walked on each side, and led the horse by the reins between two Portuguese on horseback. After them followed two pages, so richly clad that one would have taken them for two Prince's sons. They marched immediately before the two Japanese Lords, who formed part of the mission to the Pope, who were clad in black velvet trimmed with gold lace, which Sixtus Quintus had given them at Rome. As for Father Valignani and his two companions, they were clad in the usual dress of the Order and carried in litters. The march was closed with the Portuguese in so rich attire, that they might have appeared before the greatest monarch of the world."

The whole was so impressive that the populace said it far exceeded the procession of the Korean envoy who had visited Hideyoshi only a few months before. Civilities did not end with the formal audience. Hideyoshi was pleased with the presents, with all he heard of Europe from the young nobles who visited the Pope, and evinced such symptoms of a gentler spirit that the fairest hopes were held of the speedy return of the old days of toleration. When the ambassador left Kioto to return to Nagasaki, Father Rodriguez, who was proficient in the Japanese language, was, by Hideyoshi's special desire, left behind in the capital as agent. During the next two years the Jesuits faithfully followed the resolutions of the conference at Hirado, and the Church, though forced to work and worship in private, had continued proselytizing successfully and was left in peace and unnoticed by the Japanese authorities. Then a new storm burst over it.

Hitherto the priests of the Jesuit fraternity had monopolized the new missionary field in Japan, the soil of which they were the first to break. Their monopoly was confirmed by Bulls of Popes Gregory XIII and Clement VII, and Philip II of Spain ordered his Viceroy in the Indies to see that these Bulls were obeyed. Trade

jealousies arose, as will be shown in another chapter, between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and the Governor of the Philippines, in the hope of placing his own countrymen on a better footing, sent an embassy to Japan. The ambassador brought with him in his train four "religious recollects" of the Order of St. Francis, Fathers Baptiste, Ruys, Francis and Gonzalez. The embassy was received by Hideyoshi at Nagoya, not very cordially as Hideyoshi arrogated a claim to the sovereignty of the Philippines which at one period he thought of enforcing by arms, and at the audience the Franciscans asked and received permission to visit Kioto and Osaka "to see his noble palaces." The permission was given on condition that they did not attempt to preach or hold services. The Franciscans, being resolved not to observe this condition, "gave no promise, but made a low reverence." One of the Jesuits, Father Organtin, was living quietly in Kioto; he had been thirty years in Japan and was now an old man, too infirm to undertake the voyage to Europe, and when his presence was reported to Hideyoshi, he said, "Let him end his days among us. Having no church he can do no harm." There were secretly four other priests in Kioto, none of whom ever appeared in public, but all, together with Rodriguez and Organtin, who had both permission to reside there, assisted in the private celebration of the sacraments of the Church in a little chapel erected within Organtin's house and in ministering to their converts.

The Franciscans recognized none of the obligations of the Jesuits. Their ardent zeal made them believe that such deference to the orders of the Sovereign was contrary to the liberty of the Gospel, and that they ought to preach the faith to the infidels despite of all laws to the contrary. The precise terms of the Bulls of the Pope which conferred the monopoly of the field

on the Jesuits, only forbade, they argued, "going to Japan." Now that they were actually in Japan, although they had come there not as priests, but as part of the retinue of a lay ambassador, there was nothing in the Bulls that prohibited their preaching. This may have been true as regards the wording of the Bulls, but it was entirely contrary to their spirit. Nothing, however, could stand in the way of the zeal of the Franciscans. On the site assigned to them as a diplomatic residence in the capital they built a church and convent, and from the 4th of October, 1594, regularly and openly celebrated Mass in it, though they were warned, both by the most wise and prudent of the converts and by friendly heathen, of the danger they provoked not only to themselves, but to the Church. The city Governor ordered them to desist, but they paid no attention to his orders. The Governor, being alone in Court with Hideyoshi on one occasion, said to him, "I fear those priests who call themselves ambassadors from the Governor of the Philippines intend both to preach and baptize like the rest." "They won't," replied Hideyoshi in a passion, "if they be wise, for if they do, I'll make them examples and teach them to laugh at me." The Governor again advised the Fathers of the danger they were in, but then, thinking he had done his duty, took no further notice of them, and the Fathers, finding no material opposition, extended their work. Three more members of the Order, Rodriguez, Ribadeney and Jerome, joined them at their invitation from the Philippines. Another convent was built at Osaka, and intoxicated with their success, they resolved to extend their work to Nagasaki, where there was a large establishment of Jesuits working quietly among a large native congregation. The Superior of the Franciscans asked permission from the Governor of Kioto for two of his brethren who were sick to go to Nagasaki for change of air, and was told,

"In case of health there need be no further leave, *all in Japan being free to go and reside where they pleased.*"

Fathers Baptiste and Jerome accordingly went to Nagasaki, and there soon began to say Mass and preach publicly without any regard to the prohibition.

At this period all Hideyoshi's anger against the Christians seemed to have gone. He knew that many Fathers, though banished from Japan, remained in the country, but he made no search for them; on the contrary, he gave leave to ten of them to reside at Nagasaki and, as has been told, to Rodriguez to reside and the venerable Father Organtin to finish his days at Kioto: he had just received the newly arrived Bishop of the Church with every mark of honour and esteem, and more than once silenced his courtiers for speaking reflectingly on the Christians, "particularly in time of the Earthquake, when one was pleased to say, they were justly punished for receiving a stranger religion into Japan. You have reason indeed (said the Emperor), as if there had never been earthquakes in Japan before Christians came amongst us."

It was under these circumstances that the Franciscans, "little acquainted, being newly arrived in the country, with the genius of the people, and still less with Hideyoshi's designs," gave full scope to their proselytizing in public, preaching publicly in the churches, hearing confessions and baptizing the infidels without any regard to Hideyoshi's orders. No warnings or remonstrances were able to stop their torrent of zeal. While they were thus employed an unhappy incident occurred. A great Spanish galleon, richly laden, called the *St. Philip*, bound from the Philippines to Goa, took refuge in a port in Tosa, mastless, rudderless and leaking. She had six priests among her passengers. Hideyoshi was persuaded to take possession of the galleon as a prize on the ground that she brought soldiers, arms and priests, and that she was a wreck on the coast of Japan.

The unhappy captain protested against such an outrage on a ship in distress belonging to a friendly nation with which there was a Treaty of Commerce, and thinking to support his protests by showing the might of his King, he pointed on a map to all the Spanish possessions in the world. The Governor inquired how the King of Spain had acquired such great possessions, and the Spaniard told him—

"that this was done by the help of Missioners, whom his Master sent to all parts of the world to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for so soon as these Religious had gained a sufficient number of Proselytes, the King followed with his troops, and joining the new Converts made a conquest of the Kingdoms."

The contumacy of the Franciscans and the indiscretion of the unfortunate Spanish captain were simultaneously reported to Hideyoshi and received by him with an outburst of passion. No time could have been more unfortunate at which to give him new cause of irritation. Shortly before, his pride had been wounded to the quick by the failure of the Chinese Embassy which, coming, as he thought, to do him honour, had addressed him as a vassal of China. The renewal of the war with Korea was at hand, and his abilities and resources were being tried to the utmost. A terrible earthquake had just ruined the majestic temple and palace on which he had lavished millions, which he fondly hoped would have borne witness to his wealth and greatness. Now both had been wrecked to their foundations, and he himself had for a time been forced to seek safety from the repeated shocks in a wretched mountain hut. His health was beginning to break. On all this came the news that his orders had publicly been flouted by foreigners in his own dominions, that these very priests whom he had spared were the forerunners of the conquering arms of Spain. And beside him was still the vile Pandar, Hiakunin, still full of hatred and

malice against the Christians, to inflame his anger still further, and to urge him to spare none, neither the priests who had misled the Japanese from the national Gods, nor the Japanese who had forsaken these Gods. Is it to be wondered at that Hideyoshi, an autocrat whose word none of his own people dared to dispute, declared he would hang or burn every man? The news was quickly spread that all Christians were to die, Jesuits, Franciscans and Japanese without distinction. Not a convert faltered. Women and children showed the same courage as did the men.

The days of wholesale persecution were, however, not yet come. Hideyoshi exempted the Portuguese Jesuits. They had obeyed the laws, and he feared an outbreak among the Christians in Kiushiu, a large and influential body, if he condemned the priests who had lived and worked among them for so many years. Three native Jesuit priests were, however, included among those condemned to die—twenty-four in all. Many more could have been taken, for, once the edict went forth, the native converts boldly professed their faith and sought the honour of dying with their priests. But the officers charged with the arrests were merciful; they were appalled by the number that presented themselves, and took only those whom they found in the actual service of the Mass. Their mercy went even further. They gave four of the Franciscans at Nagasaki the chance of leaving Japan by the first vessel that sailed. The Father Provincial of the society refused to take it. The sufferings of the condemned were long and agonizing. The tips of their ears were cut off. Then with hands tied behind their backs, they were carted through the streets of Kioto and Osaka—then in the same fashion on the long journey from Osaka to Nagasaki by land, that all the people on the way might see them. It was midwinter, the same season and the same journey that Xavier had taken on his first visit to the capital, and

the sufferings of the ill-clad prisoners were intense, so much so that their guards, fearing they might die on their hands, at last relieved them with additional clothing and food. It was on the 3rd of January that they started on their march from Kioto. It was thirty-three days later when they reached the ground at Nagasaki on which they were to die. The first intention was that they should be crucified on the common execution ground, but at the entreaty of the Portuguese residents at Nagasaki they were spared this indignity by the local governor, and taken to the hill on whose slopes the Roman Catholic cathedral now stands. There all were crucified,[1] their last glances lighting on one of the fairest spots on the earth. Only the baptismal names are given of the Japanese who died; two of them were boys twelve and thirteen years of age, but those of the six Franciscan priests were Francis Baptiste, Commissary Superior of the Order, a native of Avila, Spain, aged forty-eight years; Martin de Luynes, of Biscay, aged thirty; Philip of Jesus, of Mexico; Gonzalez Garcia de Bazaine; Francis le Blanc, a Gallician, aged thirty years; and Francis Michael of Valladolid. They were the first of the long list of European martyrs in Japan who cheerfully gave up their lives in their Master's cause. They brought their fate upon themselves by their obstinate defiance of the law of the land in which they lived. They were the ultimate causes of the ruin of the Church for which they died, but they paid the penalty of their errors with

[1] Crucifixion, a punishment which was abolished less than forty years ago, and, while it lasted, was considered less severe than decapitation, though very horrible in its form, was not so cruel as with the Jews and the Romans. The cross had two bars, one at the head and one at the feet, and between the two was a small seat. The condemned man was tied—not nailed—hands and feet, in spread-eagle fashion to the two bars, with the weight of his body resting on the seat. When the cross was erected, an expert spearsman stood on each side, and at a given command, both drove their spears simultaneously so that both spears passed crosswise in the shape of an X through all the vital organs of the body, and death was instantaneous.

unflinching courage, and faced death in a horrible form rather than take the choice that was given to them of abandoning the field in which they worked and leaving their converts without the spiritual ministrations of the priests of their fraternity. A strong military guard kept the people at a distance during the execution, but when all was over the Christians broke through the line of soldiers to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood that flowed from the bodies.

The execution was soon followed by orders that all priests—even those of the Jesuit fraternity—should leave Japan at once, and that all churches should be destroyed.

Under the second, 137 churches were demolished in the three fiefs of Arima, Omura and Hirado, the Princes of which were Christians, where Christianity had its chief stronghold, but the first could not be carried out as there were no ships in which so large a body could sail, and before it could Hideyoshi sickened and died.

"To be short, this unhappy Prince died the 15th, in the morning, at the age of sixty-two, laden with honours and crimes, equally hated and dreaded by all his subjects, the first that dipped his hands in the blood of Christians, and the first that subdued all Japan by a most tyrannical usurpation. None were sorry for his death, but such as proposed to enrich themselves by his life; for the Nobility, they were all much better pleased to see him on the list of the dead Gods, than in the land of living men."

This is the verdict of the Fathers on the first persecutor of their Church in Japan. That of Hideyoshi's own countrymen has already been given.[1]

[1] See page 199.

NOTE.—In this and other chapters, the territorial feudal lords—the Daimio—are frequently mentioned as "Princes." The latter is the term that was almost invariably employed, not only by the Jesuit Fathers and Kaempfer, but by European writers on and residents in Japan—it was used even in official documents—down to the restoration of the present Emperor. It was and is, of course, incorrect. The feudatories were never entitled to it. They were not called Princes in their own language, but for the sake of convenience the old custom of using it has been followed to some extent in this book.

CHAPTER XIV

CHRISTIANITY TO THE SECOND PERSECUTION

THE Church now had a respite. Some of the most influential members of the new Government—Ishida Mitsunari, the most active and the ablest of the civil members of the Council of State; Konishi Yukinaga, the greatest general in the Empire—were devoted Christians. Iyeyasu was at first far too occupied with his controversies with the League and afterwards with his campaign to be able to spare either time or thought for a detail of administration that was insignificant in comparison with the great problems of statesmanship and civil war that faced him. Every consideration of prudence also forbade him, while his fate still hung in the balance, to alienate an important section of the people, more formidable in their intelligence, rank and military distinction than their numbers, large though they were. Christianity was predominant throughout Kiushiu; it was strongly represented among the veteran soldiers that were now returning from Korea, and its votaries would constitute a very formidable addition to those who were already his declared enemies.

The Jesuits not only remained in Japan, but received substantial reinforcements—their whole number was now over a hundred—and while still working unostentatiously and celebrating their Masses in privacy, they made such an infinite number of new converts, that "they were transported out of themselves to see God so prosper their labours." The culmination of their joy

was reached when Mori, the Prince of Chōshiu, the most puissant prince in all the land next to Iyeyasu, gave them permission to settle a residence in his capital of Yamaguchi. It has been already told how Xavier preached and founded a mission in this town. When he left, Cosmo de Torres was placed in charge of it, and his work was so successful that by 1556 he had made two thousand converts. Then a local revolution occurred —it will be remembered that at that period the Central Government held no real authority over the Provinces— and the town became as great a scene of rapine and bloodshed as was Kioto in the last days of the Ashikaga. A great part of it was burnt, including the church and mission-house, and De Torres was forced to leave it, and for twenty-seven years afterwards foreign missionaries were forbidden to reside in it by the new Government established by the local revolution. Then, when Christianity was free and flourishing through all Japan, the permission was given, but no use could be made of it, as all the Fathers were fully occupied in other dioceses. It was again withdrawn under Hideyoshi's edicts. It was found when the mission was reopened that more than five hundred Christians, without the encouragement of the presence of foreign priests, without ordained priests to minister to them, had conserved all their faith in its primitive purity from the days of Xavier and De Torres, nearly fifty years before. All the original prosperity of the Church seemed to have now returned to it: "It was like the earth in springtime, flourishing in virtue and perfuming the country with the sweet odour of its sanctity." Seventy thousand new converts were baptized in the years 1599 and 1600, and fifty churches rebuilt. Before opening the details of the dawn of its new period of tribulation we shall divert a little from our main story to tell that of a Christian lady who won for herself a position among the great

women of Japan, by her fortitude, courage and devotion, not as a Christian, but as a type of Samurai spirit in the noblest form in which it can be displayed by women. As a Christian she was a heroine of the Church, but when that page in her story was entirely obliterated for two and a half centuries by the national hatred of the very name of Christianity, she was still a national heroine in the eyes of all her countrymen.

The story has already been told of Akechi Mitsuhide, traitor and murderer.[1] His record, until that of the last dark chapter in his life, was that of a brave Samurai. His wife, in her own womanly way, was no less brave than her husband. It is told of her that once, when her husband was suddenly called upon to entertain important guests and was without the means to do so, his wife provided them by selling her own hair. The daughter of this couple, a girl of "surpassing beauty, of quick wit, of sound judgment, and of a spirit and genius above the common sort," was married to Hosokawa Tadaoki, a brother officer of her father, in the service of Nobunaga, who was rewarded for his services by the grant of the fief of Tango. Her husband was a bosom friend of Konishi Yukinaga, who made vain attempts to lead him into Christianity. He told his wife, whom he passionately loved, all that he had heard from Yukinaga about the new doctrine, and her interest was kindled in it. The husband's duties as a soldier necessitated frequent absences from home throughout all Hideyoshi's long wars, and fearing lest so beautiful a woman as his wife might, in his absence, be taken by force to become the victim of Hideyoshi's inexhaustible sensuality, he forbade her to stir beyond the walls of her residence in Osaka. He provided her with abundant ladies to enliven her solitude, but ordered the guards to admit no one else, no matter of what quality. Her

[1] See page 176.

longing to hear of the doctrine of Christ was proof against locks and bars, and with four of her ladies she secretly attended the service of the church. What she heard there filled her with the desire to be baptized, and, as she might never find another opportunity, she earnestly begged that the ceremony should be performed at once. The Father (Cespides) was not satisfied that she was sufficiently instructed and prepared for the sacrament. He saw besides that she was a person of rank, and as she refused to tell her name, saying that reasons obliged her to conceal it, but that she was a servant of God, a true Christian at heart, her wondrous beauty made the Father think she was one of Hideyoshi's three hundred concubines. In the meantime, her absence from home had been discovered. The guards, filled with anxiety, sought her everywhere, and at last found her among the Christians. They carried her home in a palanquin, and from that day the strict watch that was kept on her took away all hope of ever again being able to go abroad.

There was no restriction on her ladies; daily she sent some of them with written queries to the Father, and the result was that seventeen of these ladies were themselves baptized. Then came the news of Hideyoshi's edict of expulsion, and terrified lest the Fathers should be driven from Osaka, she sent one of her ladies—one of the seventeen—to implore the Fathers to baptize her before they left. Access to her was as impossible for them as it was for her to come to the church. So as a last resort the Fathers instructed the lady, whose own baptismal name was Mary, in the sacrament and commissioned her to perform it on her mistress. The lady was herself both beautiful and of high birth, already contracted in marriage to one of her own rank, but she was so filled with the inspiration of the Divine Ministry conferred on her by the Fathers, that she cut off her hair

and made a vow to devote herself in perpetual chastity to the Church. Soon after Hosokawa returned home, to find his wife a Christian. Torn between his love for his wife and his hatred of Christianity, he was distracted what to do. It was within his marital rights to kill her for her disobedience, but his love for her would not allow him to take so violent a course. So he tried severity, both in threats and actions. All this was in the year 1587. Throughout thirteen years she remained firm to her faith, and, though bereft of all priestly aid and comfort, she was equally firm against both the angry threats and loving entreaties of her husband.

In the war between the League and Iyeyasu, Hosokawa threw in his lot with Iyeyasu, and was with his army in its march to Gifu and at the battle of Seki ga hara. Like many others in the same service he left his wife at Osaka. There the League determined to take the wives as hostages that their husbands would not serve in the army of the enemy against the rightful prince, the son of Hideyoshi, their former lord. Hosokawa, before leaving Osaka, had foreseen this possibility, which was an ordinary incident in the Civil Wars in Japan, and had given orders to the guards of his house that rather than let his wife be taken, they should put her to death. The soldiers of the League were now round the house, ready to seize their hostage, and the time had come when it was the guard's duty to carry out their master's orders. They were in tears when they came to their lady and sadly told her of what they had to do. She was at once resigned, begging only for a few minutes to prepare herself by prayer and to bid adieu to her own ladies. There was little time as the soldiers at the gate were about to force their way in. Her ladies wished to die with her, but she forbade them as Christians and dismissed them. Then she received the guards alone in her own chamber without a tremor,

and she only begged them, knowing the Samurai code of honour and duty, that they would do no harm to themselves. "Madam," they answered, "how can we survive you—we must do our duty to our master, but justice condemns us also, whose hands will be stained with your blood, to die with you." Then she fell on her knees and bared her neck, and with one stroke her head was severed from her body. Her body was reverently covered with a silk cloth, and as it would have been disrespectful to die in the room in which it was, the guards withdrew to another and there all performed *hara-kiri*, first setting fire to the house, that all the bodies, their mistress's and their own, might be consumed. All the details of the story were told by the ladies of the household who survived.[1]

We will now return to our main story. Seki ga hara gave Iyeyasu the mastery of the Empire, and when he had settled the main and most pressing political difficulties that confronted him he was able to give his attention to Christianity. He was at first minded to pursue the policy of Hideyoshi, and actually did issue

[1] The story of this lady is told here as it is by the Jesuit Fathers. It is also told in more than a hundred native works of history or romance, but in not a single one is there, the present writer believes, the slightest reference to the fact that the lady was a Christian, and the cause assigned in them for the differences between herself and her husband was the latter's horror at the taint cast on the daughter by her father's treachery. In all native works she is also represented as having died by her own hand when the attempt was made to arrest her. The account of the Jesuit Fathers is probably the correct one. They were her compeers, and in the city when she died, and the utter disrepute into which Christianity fell soon after her death is quite sufficient to explain the silence of later native writers on this feature of her life which might have been held to dim the glory of her heroic self-sacrifice. In the days of Old Japan it was only less common for women of Samurai birth to die by their own hands to avoid capture or dishonour than it was for their husbands or fathers. Men died by *hara-kiri*, cutting the belly open with a sword—a very vivid description of the ceremony of which is given in the "Tales of Old Japan" by Lord Redesdale, who witnessed it—and women by thrusting a sword into the throat.

an edict of expulsion, but he soon withdrew it in deference to the wishes of Christians who had fought for him. The missionaries continued their work uninterrupted by official interference. Their staff was constantly reinforced, and, as a new Bull of Pope Paul V cancelled the monopoly of the Jesuits, the recruits included priests of all the societies of the Roman Church, Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustins as well as Jesuits. All were equal in zeal and ability, and the numbers of converts increased enormously. There were churches everywhere from Tsugaru in the far north to the Goto Islands in the extreme south; even in Yedo, Iyeyasu's own capital, and in the barbarous Yezo, still little more than a *terra incognita* to the Japanese themselves. Sado, a remote island on the West Coast famed for its gold mines, the source from which came the gold that was so abundantly used in the decoration of the palaces and temples of Kioto and Osaka, was not left untried, and here, too, a devoted priest laboured among the rough miners, many of them political, many more criminal, fugitives from justice.

While all was fair and promising, when the prosperity and future of the Church seemed to be once more at their height, another storm burst upon it, a storm that was only to be lulled into calm when Christianity was swept off the face of the waters and buried deep beneath the angry waves.

The Dutch had now gained a foothold in Japan. They hated Spaniards and Portuguese with the bitter hatred that is born of religious and political antagonism and of trade rivalry. The Japanese found that they need no longer depend only on the Spaniards and Portuguese as the sole mediums of foreign trade, and while both the latter persisted in uniting proselytism with trade, the Dutch were bent on trade alone and, provided they were allowed to trade, willingly submitted

to any conditions. In 1603 their privateers, practically pirates, captured two large Portuguese ships at sea, which among other things carried the funds and stores for the Church in Japan, and great were the suffering and the interruption to the work owing to the heavy loss. In Japan, through the succeeding years, they unceasingly vilified both Spaniards and Portuguese, and convinced Iyeyasu that in no long time in the future he might expect to be called upon to defend his own country against all the might of Spain, which was for ever extending its possessions in the East. Spain already held the Philippines, a frontier, as it were, of Japan. She was constantly sending fresh troops there, and against whom could they be intended to serve if not Japan? A Spanish sea captain, anxious only to benefit navigation, took soundings openly and in broad midday of some of the harbours. The Japanese thought nothing of it till the Dutch told them it was a gross infraction of international hospitality, and was only being done for one purpose, to make the way easy for a Spanish fleet.

A fracas occurred at Nagasaki between the sailors of a Portuguese ship and Japanese on shore; it was probably a drunken row, such as are not uncommon between European sailors and native rowdies at Japanese seaports at the present day; but before it ended several were killed on both sides. It was reported to Iyeyasu, who, without hearing a word of the Portuguese story, without giving them any chance to exculpate themselves, ordered that the ship should be taken and the crew put to death, and gave the Prince of Arima, a Christian, the task of carrying out his orders. The conduct of the Portuguese sailors was, as has been already stated, not edifying to the native Christians, who entirely disassociated them from the missionaries, and the Prince of Arima had no compunctions in under-

taking the task that was given to him. The Portuguese captain, a stout and valiant sailor, hearing of what was threatened, put to sea, but was windbound at the mouth of the harbour for two days. A fleet of Japanese boats started in pursuit with three thousand soldiers on board. On one of their largest boats a tower of strong wooden beams was built from within, which two hundred musketeers could fire without exposing themselves in any way to a return fire. The Portuguese did all he could to escape, but it fell a dead calm. His ship was helpless, while the Japanese manœuvred all round with oars, and the tower ship laid herself by his stern where his great broadside guns could not be brought to bear. The Portuguese then attempted to destroy the tower ship with a fire ball, but the fire took hold instead of their own mizzen-sail and spread thence to the rest of the ship, so that the men had to leave the guns to fight the flames, while the Japanese all round fired on them incessantly. The captain, seeing that all was lost, blew up his ship. Even Christianity had not taught the Japanese to spare their beaten foes. Christians though the commander and most of his men were, they mercilessly shot the few Portuguese who survived the explosion and tried to escape by swimming. Not a soul of all the crew and passengers was left, while the victors themselves had heavy losses.[1] This was in the year 1609.

All these incidents and circumstances had their influence on Iyeyasu. In 1611 he banished Christians from his own Court. Even ladies of the Court were banished to the wild and desolate island of Oshima. The province of Arima had long been the home of Christianity, and both the Prince and people were devoted Christians. Through intrigues at Court, which need not be detailed, the Prince, notwithstanding his

[1] The spot in the harbour at which this took place was ever afterwards called "the place for burning foreign ships."

services in the case of the Portuguese ship, was deposed and banished and finally executed without trial, his chief offence being his Christianity. His son, the antithesis of his father's virtues, apostatized and was installed as Prince in his stead on condition that he should wipe out Christianity in his fief. Then a persecution began in Arima. Banishment was tried at first, but it was without effect. All who suffered were content to do so rather than renounce their faith. Then the last penalty of death was put in force, at first against some of the gentry of the fief, who were executed with their wives and children, some by the sword, some by being burnt to death in slow fires; then against two younger brothers of the Prince, both less than eight years of age, and finally against the people, who were executed and burnt like their betters. A limit was only drawn when the Prince became frightened at the numbers of those who stood firm in the face of all the tortures with which they were threatened.

For two years Iyeyasu was satisfied with the persecutions in Arima, in his capital and in his own personal town of Shidzuoka, but in 1614 he issued a further decree in which it was ordered that all priests, whether European or Japanese, should be banished out of Japan; that all churches should be pulled down; and that all Christians should be enrolled, and those who refused to renounce their faith should be tortured and put to death. The immediate and ostensible cause of this final edict was that a Christian condemned to be crucified for an ordinary criminal offence was accompanied to the execution ground by some of his co-religionists to console him in his last moments. Just as the executioner was about to thrust his lance, they all with one accord fell on their knees to pray for mercy for the soul of the condemned, and this act was construed into honouring and worshipping a famous criminal, which was "perni-

cious to the state, opposite to good manners, and inconsistent with the public tranquillity."

It must be laid to the credit of the officers commissioned to carry out Iyeyasu's orders that, before proceeding to the last measures, they made every effort to induce the people to conform outwardly at least to the renunciation of their faith. They enrolled only the masters of the Christian households, but wives, children and domestics insisted on their names being added. They practised a pious fraud and induced many to sign their names in what they thought was the roll of Christians. In reality it was headed, "The list of those who recanted." In Kioto the officer threatened burnings, and, to show that he meant it, set up many stakes on the execution ground. Next day every Christian house in the capital had a similar stake in front of it as a sign of the faith of the inmates, and to show that no tortures were feared. When they were brought actually to the stake they were loosely tied so that, if they weakened when the fire was kindled, they could escape. All endured the torment to the last. The foreign and Japanese priests were hastily collected at Nagasaki, and in the anxiety to get them out of the country at once they were forced to embark on three ill-equipped Chinese junks, the only sea-going vessels that were available. Several of the oldest died on the voyage to Manila and Macao. Along with them went Takayama, who adhered to his religion and was also banished. He was received with almost royal honours at Manila, but died soon after his arrival.

Fifteen European priests and some catechists remained behind after the general expulsion. They refused to leave their flocks in the hour of trial wholly without the spiritual aid of experienced pastors, and with the help of their converts they escaped the general muster. Thenceforward their lives were those of hunted

fugitives, hunted with far more energy, far more relentlessness than were the Irish priests of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Protestant soldiers and settlers of Elizabeth and James. Their chances of escape were infinitely less than those of their Irish brothers. In Ireland priests, once they had discarded their clerical robes, were indistinguishable from the rest of the population. Every one around them was devoted to them and ready to run all risks of life and property to conceal and defend them. In Japan no possible disguise could render the European priests indistinguishable from the people around them; complexion, eyes, hair, stature, and accent, no matter what was their skill in the language, all betrayed them, and the moment they were seen they were known. They hid in caves, in wretched huts amid thick forests on wild mountain sides, amidst the rocks on lonely shores, enduring all the worst privations of cold and hunger, and in the slums of the cities,[1] everywhere aided, as far as human help could be given to them, by their converts, though great rewards were offered for their apprehension, rewards so great that they meant riches for life to a Japanese even if he were of what may be called the well-to-do middle classes, and ruin and death threatened to those and all their relations, who helped to hide or succour them. There was not one solitary incident of betrayal, but many of the priests were found, many came boldly out of their hiding to give their spiritual ministration to their converts in their last hour of suffering, and to share that suffering and die with them. And as one priest died, two were smuggled into the country to replace him. The perils of the ocean voyage from Macao or Manila, not only from storm and uncharted seas, but from pirates, were great. Many were lost at sea. One ship with seven priests on board was taken

[1] One remained four days at the bottom of a well.

by Chinese pirates, and all were slaughtered. The Dutch privateers harried them throughout, and no more mercy was to be expected from them than from the most savage Malay or Chinese pirate; if their lives were spared, it was only that they might be handed over to the officials of the first Japanese port at which they touched, the Dutch being content to buy commercial privileges for themselves by giving their fellow Christians over to the horrors of Asiatic torture. And when all the perils of the sea were overcome and the priest safely smuggled on shore in some secluded spot on the coast, the prospect before him was that of a miserable fugitive life for a few years, perhaps for a few months, and then a cruel death by torture. Still new priests of all fraternities came, and to the last chapter, till there was not a single avowed Christian left in Japan, till all intercourse with foreign countries was forbidden and by no possibility could strangers land or even approach the coast, the Japanese were never left without the aid of foreign priests to keep their faith strong and to share their martyrdom.

Iyeyasu died in 1616, but the crusade started by him was carried on by his son and successor and again by his successor, with increased relentlessness. Successive edicts were issued in 1616, 1624, 1633, 1634 and 1637, each succeeding one more drastic than its predecessor. The whole story of the persecution is full of horrors, full of tales of heroic courage and suffering. It does not pale before the worst records of the cruelty of Nero or Alva, and there are none of the incidents of the persecution of the primitive Christians in Rome that do not find their counterpart in those that took place in Japan, whether in the sufferings or in the constant faith and heroism of the martyrs. At first, death was only inflicted in the ordinary forms of decapitation, crucifixion or burning. When this was found ineffective, and

when not only martyrs went in triumph to the cross or stake, and openly prayed to God till the last gasp of agony was over, but relations and friends pressed eagerly around to share the glories of their martyrdom, further measures were taken. Parents were slowly done to death in the presence of their young children, and young children in the presence of their parents. The victims were of every rank, sex and age, from the territorial prince, the Court lady delicately reared and accustomed to refined luxury, down to the lowest labourer of the fields. All were brethren, and all suffered alike. An old woman ninety years of age was crucified, a female infant only one year old was beheaded. Scores and scores of children, of both sexes, under twelve years died unflinchingly after they had first seen their parents tied to the stake and slowly perish in flames before their eyes. All this failed to accomplish its end. Christians still gloried in their faith, and new and horrible forms of death were devised, and even these were preceded by slow and agonizing tortures.

"The tyrant, finding them constant to their resolution (notwithstanding the persuasion of friends to the contrary), ordered they should be stripped naked and plunged into the cold frozen river. The Executioners did as they were commanded, and every now and then took them out to see if they would comply with the Governor's orders and renounce the faith. After they had endured this torment for a considerable time, they mounted them, naked as they were, on horseback, and carried them about the streets for a show. At the turning of the streets the officer commanded them to alight, and demanded of them to renounce Jesus Christ, or expect what followed; and immediately the soldiers poured pails of water over their heads. Being washed after this manner in all the public places of the town, they tied them at night to one of the gates, leaving them exposed there to the indignities and insolences of the mob, who repeated the torment again, till the natural heat was quite extinguished."

"Soon after they conducted Father Caravail to Prison, where he continued till the 22nd of February. Early that morning he was taken out, in order, as was thought, to be burnt, but contrary to expectation they cut short in the way, and threw him into the ditch again, where he continued that whole day. As night came on the water froze, and drifts of snow beating upon him at the same time, the torment grew insupportable. He yielded up his soul to God about midnight, after fifteen hours' torment in the frozen water."

"The Governor, finding entreaties took no effect, commanded the soldiers to lay old Thomas on two iron bars over hot coals. Two men held his feet and two his hands, not for fear of his running away, but to turn him from side to side like another St. Laurence. In a word, they roasted him from head to foot, and yet, what is stupendous, old as he was, he endured the torment with invincible patience. The judges, in hopes of working upon the son by the Father's torments, made him be present there the whole time.

"Then they used the son like the Father, and turned him from side to side. The fire was so quick and sharp that one might see his bones through his skin."

"At the entrance of the enclosure stood an officer to question them about their religion, and such as remained steady and constant he thrust in among the Executioners, who immediately fell upon them, tearing off their hair (the greatest affront that can be offered to a Japanese), plucking off their ears with hot pincers, treading them under foot, beating them with sticks, and tormenting them all the ways imaginable, to tire out their patience, and make them feel the pangs of death without yet killing them quite out.

"After this first prelude they stripped them naked, bound them with cords on the ground, buffeting them with old shoes and besmearing them with dirt, and after a thousand other indignities and affronts they were thrown Hand over Head into a hole, where several had like to have been stifled in the throng.

"Next morning they brought them again into the List, and renewed the combat by a most unheard-of cruelty. The Executioners took two octangular pieces of wood, and placed the Martyrs' feet between them. Then, tying them straight at one end, they danced and leaped upon the other, to crush their bones to pieces."

Not far from Nagasaki there is a range of lovely forest-clad mountains, varying in height from two to five thousand feet, the turf on which, in spring and summer, glows with a surpassing wealth of the brightest wild flowers. They command glorious prospects of vale and sea, their glens, through which rush sparkling streamlets, are scenes of romantic and wild beauty, and no more delightful spots could be imagined amid which to idle away a summer's day. These hills are now visited every summer by large numbers of European residents, not only from Nagasaki, but from all the ports on the coast of China, who come here to find refuge and change from their malarious homes in the pure and health-giving mountain air. They are in the centre of a highly volcanic region, and among the hills are some sulphur springs, some of them large ponds of great depth, whose desolate sulphur-covered surroundings form a vivid contrast to the beauties of nature amid which they lie. The water in these ponds is for ever boiling and seething with subterranean fires, with such violence that it rises in great bubbles often to the height of several feet from the level. The names given to them by the Japanese well typify the horrors of their appearance. "Great, little and middle Hell," "The mouth of Hell," "The Infernal waters," varied occasionally by a more poetical title such as, "The Loud Wailer." The temperature of the water is over 200° Fahrenheit. The Jesuits well compared them to the "Lakes of Brimstone and Fire described in the Apocalypse."

Finding the torture of the sea [1] without effect, the persecutors resolved to try the boiling waters of Unzen. Sixteen obstinate Christians were taken out of prison and brought there. All of them were bound on the verge of the precipice overlooking the great pond, then stones were tied to them and they were pitched in. This was not

[1] Repeated immersions in the sea in winter until the victim died.

sufficient. The last was slowly lowered by ropes head downwards and immersed and taken out three times before being allowed to sink to the bottom. A few days later ten more were taken. Their deaths were slower and more refined than the first. They were repeatedly immersed, the women up to their breasts; then not drowned as were the first, but taken out and the boiling water poured on them till they died. Wounds were cut in the men with knives and the water poured into the wounds.

In all these sufferings the priests shared. There was no torture before death, no hideous form of death itself through which the priests did not pass along with their converts, not even the boiling waters of Unzen or the slow agonizing death of the pit.[1] On the 2nd of September, 1622, more than fifty Christians were beheaded or burnt at Nagasaki. Eighteen were priests, all of whom were burnt alive, among them Charles Spinola, a cadet of one of the most noble of the great families of Genoa, perhaps next to Xavier the greatest missionary who worked in Japan.

"Many of the priests had been in prison for four years before their execution. Nine of them were of the 'Society of Jesus,' the rest partly of St. Dominick, and partly of St. Francis' Order, together with ten pious Christians. They lay winter and summer exposed to the weather. Brother Fernandez was perfectly starved to death. Father Charles Spinola never once changed his clothes in three years' time, so that he was covered over with ordure and filth. But the greatest torment of all was the intolerable stench and the noisomeness and filth of the prison, which bred such swarms of Vermin about them that they were little better than eaten alive. In a word, the place was in itself

[1] The torture of the pit was both long and terrible. A deep hole was dug in the ground and a gallows erected in it. From this the condemned, tightly bound, was suspended head downwards in the hole, the mouth of which was covered with planks, so that all the agony had to be endured in darkness. Each day the planks were taken off for a few minutes to give an opportunity to the condemned to show, with a motion of one hand, which was left free for the purpose, if he recanted. In many cases, both of the priests and natives, four or more days elapsed before death put an end to their sufferings.

a perfect resemblance of Hell, and their life a continual martyrdom. Their common allowance was a spoonful of black rice boiled in water, with porridge made of roots, and sometimes a herring half rotten; but this dainty was soon retrenched."

In 1623 fifty were burnt alive at one time in Yedo, and twenty-five at another, many priests and well-born ladies among them. Soon after, eighteen children, so young and innocent that they played with their usual toys as they passed through the streets on their way to the execution ground, were not burnt, but beheaded, cut in two, or hacked to pieces with swords, and all this was done in the presence of ladies, who expected soon to share the same fate. In November 1629 seventy-two were simultaneously executed at Omura, forty of whom were burnt alive, twenty-nine beheaded, and three crucified. Most of them suffered for having given shelter to the European priests. In 1636 Father Mastrilli, a Neapolitan, after some years' service in India, landed secretly in Japan, but was almost immediately arrested. He underwent the torture of water[1] in both its forms on one day, and of the pit for five days before being beheaded. At his death there were only five European priests left, more than four score having already undergone martyrdom, and it was not long before the last of these five had given up his life in the pit. With their deaths, the story of European missionaries in Japan closed for nearly 230 years, and almost simultaneously the last chapter of that of native Christianity also came to its end.

In no part of the Empire was the persecution carried on with more severity than in the Northern Province of Oshiu, the fief of Date Masamune, one of the greatest of the territorial princes of ancient lineage, a soldier

[1] The torture of water was similar to that practised in Europe in the Middle Ages.

who fought both in Korea and by Iyeyasu's side in the Osaka campaigns, who in his early youth, before Hideyoshi had quelled local wars, used his strong arm and his military genius and strength to increase at the expense of his neighbours the domains which he inherited from his father. He was deep in the confidence of Iyeyasu, and was regarded by him as one of his most trusted supporters, and honoured by being included among five princes whom it was the Shōgun's duty to meet outside the city on their annual arrival at Yedo. Missionary work was at first freely permitted in Sendai, his capital, and throughout his fief, but when Iyeyasu decreed, in his final edict, that Christianity should be extirpated, Masamune was far too devoted to his own interests in maintaining the favour of the Shōgun to hesitate as to the course he should take, and he gave himself heart and soul to carrying out the work which his suzerain enjoined. Sendai lies far to the north of Yedo. The winter is incomparably more severe, and it was there that the torture of exposure to the cold, of casting the condemned priests and native converts into rivers and ditches to slowly freeze to death, was most frequent. It was there that Father Caravail, whose death has been described, and many other priests suffered their last agonies. And yet, only a few months previous to the issue of Iyeyasu's edict, when Christianity had already gone through its first persecution, but was enjoying the lull that followed it, this very same Prince sent, in his own name, an embassy to the Pope, which was charged with messages that he was anxious that all his subjects should be converted, and that he therefore begged that a large number of missionaries should be promptly sent to his own domains.

This was the second embassy that left the shores of Japan for Europe. The story of the first has been told in the preceding chapter. Neither can properly be

called an embassy, as neither represented the Sovereign. The first was sent by a few Southern princes, the second by one Northern prince, but both were received in Europe as though they came from Sovereign lords. Daté, in the credentials which he gave to his own mission, actually described himself as the King of Oshiu, and the imposture was successful. Jesuit priests at Rome, who knew from their correspondents in Japan that there was no King of Oshiu, pointed out that the messenger only represented a local prince, but they were disregarded, and their remonstrances were ascribed to their jealousy at the fact that the mission was accompanied, guided and introduced by a priest of the Franciscan order. There can be little doubt that the priest was wholly deceived by the astute old prince. The latter had no desire to see Christianity introduced into his fief on a large scale. His hope was through missionaries to get a share of the foreign trade that was enriching the South, to procure teachers of foreign science for his people, and so increase his own wealth and importance. Perhaps he may have cherished in the inmost recesses of his heart the hope that if not he himself (he was already of ripe middle age), some one of his successors might become another Nobunaga or Iyeyasu, and rule the whole Empire as they had done or were doing. Iyeyasu's future was not then absolutely assured. Hideyori was still safe in his great castle at Osaka, still had a powerful following in the Empire. He was young, and if he survived Iyeyasu and disputed the succession to the Shōgunate with Iyeyasu's son, who had little of the ability of his father, a powerful territorial prince, who was also a veteran and talented general, might possibly obtain the prize for which both were contending.

Be the reasons what they may, the mission was sent. It was a spirited and venturesome undertaking. The mission sailed in a small ship and crossed the little-

known Pacific Ocean, finally, after a voyage of four months' duration, arriving at Mexico. From there it made its way to Spain, where the members were received with all honour by the King, Philip III. Then it proceeded to Genoa, where it was received with no less honour by the republican dignitaries, and in the end it arrived at Rome. Tidings of the new persecutions in Japan had, however, reached Europe, and neither the request for more missionaries nor a further one that the Pope should use his influence in cementing a formal alliance between Masamune and the King of Spain for their mutual interests in the Eastern Seas was cordially heard, and the favourable consideration of both was deferred. The head of the mission was one of Masamune's principal vassals named Hasekura. His adviser and colleague was Father Sotelo, a Franciscan priest, a Spaniard, who had lived and worked for many years in Japan. Hasekura and his staff of his own countrymen all gave evidence of their sincerity by receiving baptism when in Rome. It was in the autumn of the year 1613 that they sailed from Oshiu. It was in the winter of 1615 that they arrived at Rome, and returning to Japan by the same way as they had come, by Mexico and the Pacific, but this time calling at Manila, they only reached Sendai in 1620. There they found that everything was changed. Persecution was in full force. They brought no new missionaries with them, and none were wanted. Hasekura promptly recanted, and Sotelo, who parted from him at Manila, and landed on his return journey at Nagasaki, was on his arrival there at once arrested and burnt to death. Many interesting mementoes of this embassy, the letters which it bore with it and received, are still in the possession of the Daté family and have been published, and the interest attached to these documents renders the whole of its story worth telling; but, while the first embassy sent

from the South was sincere in its object, while its members were devoted Christians (one at least of them suffered martyrdom), whose main objects were to promote the welfare of their religion in their own country and to receive the apostolic blessings of the Pope, the second was conceived in dishonesty, fraudulent in the character which it assumed, and no further evidence that Christianity was among the last of its real aims is required than the fact that the Prince who sent it, and who professed a desire for his own and his people's baptism, was among the most cruel persecutors before it reached Rome, and was actually slaying and torturing Christians while his accredited messenger was professing his faith to the Pope.

Kiushiu was always the stronghold of Christianity, and, except in the town of Nagasaki, Christians were more numerous, relative to the whole population, in the fiefs of Arima and Omura, in the extreme south of the province of Hizen, than in other parts of the island. Here the Christians, plundered and tortured beyond all human endurance, fled from other parts, and, seeing that they had no choice between extermination and recantation of their faith, they gathered together to the number of more than 40,000, men, women and children, and took possession of the castle-town of Shimabara, which lies on the sea, just below the Unzen mountains. Most of them were peasants unused to arms, and they had no capable leader. Many were, however, Samurai, and Samurai and peasant alike were animated by the same spirit, knowing that there was no escape for them, or for those dear to them, from death, and that being so they would sell their lives in battle, fighting bravely to the last rather than lose them at the hands of the torturer and the executioner. Their fighting strength at first seemed contemptible, but Shimabara is strongly situated; defended by trained soldiers it might have been im-

pregnable, and it was well provisioned from the fertile districts around it and from the Government rice stores which were seized.

The Government soon realized that the suppression of this outbreak would be no light task, and an army of 160,000 men, commanded by Itakura Shigemasa, the most capable general of the time, was considered necessary to carry it to its end. The siege commenced in the last days of 1637. Repeated assaults were made, but beaten back by the defenders, all of whom, knowing that there were no hopes of mercy in any form for those who were both rebels and Christians, fought with equal desperation and courage. The walls of the castle remained intact, and after the siege had lasted for over six weeks, after many men had fallen, and the end seemed just as remote as ever, the commander of the besiegers sent to the Dutch at Hirado for assistance. The guns in the hands of the besiegers could make no impression on the walls, but the Dutch ocean-going ships were armed with much heavier artillery, which was served by more skilful gunners than the Japanese could call on among themselves. Koeckebecker, the head of the Dutch factory, knew the object for which his help was asked. He and his predecessors had often witnessed the dying agonies of the Christian martyrs: he knew that Shimabara was defended by Christians driven to despair by persecution, and he knew the fate which awaited them when the castle fell. With all this knowledge he did not hesitate. The trading privileges of his company were dearer to him than any thought of mercy to those, who, though of a different sect, were of the same religion of Christ as himself. Those privileges depended on the Japanese Government, and here was a chance to win its favour, perhaps to secure a monopoly which would bring untold riches to his Company for generations to come. To his own eternal infamy, to the

everlasting dishonour of his country, he not only sent his greatest and most powerfully armed ship to Shimabara, which lay on the sea, safe against any ships that the Japanese possessed, but went in command himself. Anchored at a safe distance off the devoted town, where no shot that its defenders could fire could reach him, over four hundred balls from his great guns were fired into the town within fifteen days.[1] Still the defenders held out. At last a breach was made in the walls, through which the besiegers poured in, and the inmates of the town and castle, men, women and children, were slaughtered without pity or mercy. The besiegers' general, Itakura, was killed when leading his men, and his tomb can still be seen in Shimabara. How the Dutch were rewarded will be told in the next chapter. It was on the 12th of April, 1638, that Shimabara fell, and more than two and a quarter centuries were destined to elapse before Japanese were again in arms against each other on their own soil.

With this massacre, the story of Christianity in old Japan may be said to have ended. Many Christians still survived, but they were all of the lowest classes, and leaderless and priestless, cowed by the terrors of the terrible persecution which had destroyed their co-religionists, none of them dared profess their faith in

[1] It will scarcely be credible that a Dutch gentleman of the last quarter of the nineteenth century openly defended the action of his countrymen in this affair. A most interesting and exhaustive account of it is contained in a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Japan by Dr. Geerts, a distinguished scientist in the service of the Japanese Government, in which he alleges that Koeckebecker only did what every wise man would have done—assisted the Government to put down rebels. Even the Japanese at the time had considerable hesitation in asking for the services of the Dutch, inquiring first whether they would be willing to take part in the operations against Christians. All the banners of the defenders were marked with the cross, and everywhere crosses were visible on the walls. The secret of Koeckebecker's action is to be found in his instructions :—" He was to save at any price the commerce with Japan." These instructions were from the head office at Batavia.

public, and to preserve their lives they no doubt all had to submit to the ordeal of public abjuration of their faith. The most rigid system of supervision was instituted, one so thorough in its exhaustiveness, so cumulative in its responsibilities, that none could escape. It is fully described by Kaempfer, who saw its operation. The Governor of the town was responsible for all in it: the district chiefs for all in their own districts: the ward masters for all in one street, and the householders in every street were registered in groups of five, and the head of the five was responsible for the other four. If one single Christian was permitted to remain, all from the head man of five up to the Governor had to answer for it, perhaps with their lives. Once every year a tablet, engraved with the cross, was carried from house to house, and in the presence of officers appointed for the purpose —their official title was Kirishtan Bugiyō—Christian Commissioners—every member of each household, from the master down to the lowest coolie, was forced to trample on the cross, and thus testify his abjuration of the hated doctrine. In every street, in every village, and on every high road in Japan, public notices were affixed forbidding the practice of the "evil sect," and promising rewards to informers.[1] It was a curious principle of the Tokugawa Government to keep the provisions of the Criminal Law secret. People, they argued, if they knew the utmost prescribed penalty for an offence, might be inclined to risk it, and the best of people would be all the more careful of their conduct if they were ignorant of what might possibly be a crime. An exception was made in the case of Christianity, and

[1] These notices were not finally removed until the present Emperor had been five years on the throne. The crosses on which the natives were forced to trample were engravings of the Crucifixion on metal slabs, which were made from metal taken from the altars of the destroyed Christian churches. Some that were actually used are now preserved in the Tokio Museum.

there was no citizen of the Empire who could plead ignorance that it was forbidden and that its practice meant death.

With all this, Christianity did not die in Japan, nor was it forgotten by the followers of those who first introduced it. Sidotti, an Italian Jesuit, stole into the country in 1707, to try and rekindle the fires which his brethren had lighted, and the story of his life and death in Japan is one that only the length to which this chapter has already attained prevents our telling. When Japan was at last thrown open to the world in 1858, and it became under the new Treaties free once more, after two hundred and fifty years, to missionary enterprise, priests of the Roman Church found in obscure villages, in every quarter, in Kiushiu, where the poorest toilers of the people lived, even in the mines of Sado, hundreds who, through all the long years which had passed since they last had priests to guide and comfort them, had clung to the faith for which their fathers died, and still in secret practised all the formalities of its worship to the best of their simple knowledge. They had to go through another era of persecution, when their existence, which had never even been suspected by their own authorities, became known to the newly established Government of his Imperial Majesty who is now on the throne. This time Japan had to count not with a few handfuls of Spaniards and Portuguese, but with all the might of the Great Powers of Europe, who had no will to see the profession of the religion, whose great principles were common to all of them, made a crime. The persecution was limited to the breaking up of communities and their removal to other districts. That only lasted till 1872, and then the people were restored to their old homes, the public notices withdrawn, and religion became free to all.

CHAPTER XV

EUROPEAN TRADE AND INTERCOURSE

THE name of Japan was first made known to Europeans by the famous Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who lived for seventeen years, in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, at the Court of Kublai Khan, the account of whose travels was first published at Genoa in the year 1298, where he was then a prisoner of war. Marco Polo never visited Japan himself, but he had every opportunity of hearing of it, as it was during his residence at the Court that Kublai Khan's ill-fated attempt to invade the islands was made, the story of which we have already told. Many particulars are given in his book as to the foreign trade of Japan, which he calls Zipangu, its people, its government and geography, and, above all, its wealth: "gold was so abundant that the riches of the king were incalculable, and even the roof of his palace was covered with gold, as are those of the Italian churches with slate and lead." For two hundred years after his death his book was lost. In the fifteenth century it once more came to light, and, as printing was then invented, copies of it were soon in circulation, and among the people into whose hands it fell was Christopher Columbus. The Cape of Good Hope was still undiscovered. The only way to the Far East and all its riches, of which Marco Polo brought back very material evidence to support his glowing descriptions, was by the long, toilsome and dangerous overland route, and it was to discover a new way both to Cathay and Zipangu that

Columbus set out on his historic voyage, and when he first landed at San Salvador he thought that it was one of the outlying islands of the Zipangu group, little though the condition of the natives harmonized with that of the inhabitants of Zipangu as depicted by Marco Polo.

The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in 1497 opened up a new field of adventure to the Portuguese, who, in the reign of Emanuel the Fortunate (1495–1521), were both the greatest ship-owners and the boldest and most adventurous seamen in Europe, who explored and sailed through all the Eastern Seas, seeking and finding wealth and preaching their religion, two objects which were closely associated in their aspirations. In 1510 the great Albuquerque founded the colony of Goa, and in 1521 Andrada succeeded in reaching Peking, and a prosperous trade was soon instituted between Goa and China, for the better convenience of which a factory was afterwards founded at Macao in 1557. The spread of religion kept pace with the progress of trade. A great university was founded at Goa, and missionaries made their way into and worked in China. The commercial and missionary success which rewarded the Portuguese in China at first gave them no inducement to venture across the stormy seas and risk their ships on the unknown, rock-bound coasts of Japan, and all the knowledge which Europe possessed of Japan was still only what could be learned from the writings of Marco Polo. But in 1542 three Portuguese adventurers, while on a voyage from Siam to China on board a Chinese junk, were driven out of their course by a storm, and found themselves at Tanegashima, an island at the entrance of the Gulf of Kagoshima. Among the other passengers on the junk was a Chinese literate, through whom the Portuguese could communicate with the natives in writing. Their interpreter was not very complimentary. He described the Portuguese to the natives

as "being ignorant of etiquette and writing, of the use of wine cups and chop-sticks, and as being little better than beasts of the field." Such as they were, they seemed to have impressed the natives not unfavourably; they were well treated, and on leaving they presented the local governor, as a return for his kindness, with some firearms and gunpowder, hitherto unknown in Japan, and taught him their use. A few years later, probably in 1545, Mendez Pinto, a celebrated mercantile adventurer, who acquired an immense fortune by trade, no doubt accompanied by piracy, in the Far East, a fortune which in his old age he devoted to the Church, followed his countrymen and also visited Tanegashima in a Chinese junk, and while there he received an invitation from the Prince of Bungo to visit him at the capital of his fief. The result of his visit was the beginning of regular trade between the Portuguese colonies and Japan, and from that time onwards Portuguese merchantmen frequently visited the various ports of Kiushiu, Funai, Kuchinotsu, Shimabara and the Island of Hirado, bringing with them merchandise to barter with the Japanese and Jesuit priests to convert them. None of these ports were very suitable for large ships—even the ships of those days—and having discovered the great advantages of Nagasaki as a safe harbour, the Portuguese applied in 1570 to the Prince of Omura, in whose territory it then lay, for permission to trade there. The permission was very readily granted, as local princes were only too anxious to bring to their fiefs a share of the great profits of foreign trade. Nagasaki then became the chief seat both of foreign trade and missionary enterprise in Japan. A Portuguese factory and a church, with all the usual accompaniments of monasteries, schools, alms-houses, hospitals, etc., were established, and the town grew rapidly, both in wealth and in the number of its inhabitants who were professed

Christians. The priests seem to have obtained some form of exterritoriality or even more—not only the right to govern themselves, but also to exercise jurisdiction over the natives in Nagasaki—by threatening to withdraw to another part of Kiushiu unless their demands were granted. The Prince of Omura at first refused, but finally, dreading the loss of the great profits of the trade, assented, and the result was that Nagasaki, in 1573, became the territory of the Christian sect.

Whatever may be the correct explanation of this concession, there is no doubt that the advent of Europeans, both traders and Churchmen, in the sixteenth century laid the foundations of Nagasaki's greatness as a city, just as it did in regard to Yokohama and Kobe in the nineteenth century.

"When the Fathers first set up there to assist the inhabitants and Portuguese there were not full five hundred souls in the whole town; but by continual trade and commerce the place grew so opulent and rich, that in the year 90 they reckoned above five thousand families residents of the place, besides merchants and tradesmen, who came thither in June from all parts at the arrival of the fleets."

Throughout all the years between 1573 and 1590, the whole of central Japan had been torn with civil war, and Nagasaki, lying at the extreme end of a peninsula, was far out of the line of Hideyoshi's march through Kiushiu in his triumphant campaign against Satsuma. When that campaign was over he was, as has already been told, firmly established as dictator, not only over the main island, which was all that the most powerful of his predecessors could substantially claim, but over all Japan, and hearing of the prosperity of Nagasaki, he soon gave it his attention, and sent five commissioners to inquire into and report on its condition. The result was that Omura was ousted from his lordship, and in 1592 Nagasaki was incorporated in the Shōgun's own

domains, not personally, but as the head of the Executive, and thenceforward it remained, both for the rest of Hideyoshi's life and throughout the long *régime* of the Tokugawa Shōguns, an appanage of the central government, distinct from and independent of the feudal principalities around it. The disappropriation of the Prince of Omura was unfortunate for the Church. He and all his people were Christians. So great had been the success of the Jesuits "that there was hardly a person in Nagasaki who was not a Christian," and while the Jesuits had splendid churches, in which they openly performed Mass, and celebrated their great saints' days by the gorgeous processions through the public streets which are so prominent a feature in the Roman Catholic Church, all the old Buddhist temples were destroyed, and their priests driven as fugitives to other districts. Now the tables were turned. The Buddhists were restored, and the Jesuits obliged to hide their heads and work in secret. Trade was, however, not affected. Portugal's "sixty years of captivity (1580–1640)," when both Spain and Portugal were united under one crown, had in the meantime begun, and the Spanish galleons from the Philippines now shared with Portuguese from Macao in the trade with Japan, and both exploited it in more or less friendly rivalry.

They continued to enjoy all the great profits of their monopoly, not only of trade with Japan and China, but with all the East, till the close of the sixteenth century. So great were these profits that they provided the whole of the crown revenue of Portugal, and there was no need for taxation. The goods which they brought from the East were carried to Lisbon, and there distributed by ships to other nationalities through Europe, but in 1595 Philip II, King of both Spain and Portugal, laid an embargo on the Dutch ships, and the Dutch, who were then second only to Spain and Portugal as ship-owners,

were deprived of their profits in the carrying trade of Europe, as far as Eastern merchandise was concerned. They soon took their revenge for this short-sighted piece of malignity on the part of the Spanish Sovereign. Unfortunately for themselves, the Portuguese had for some years in their service a Dutch pilot named Cornelius Houtman, who acquired a thorough knowledge of the Eastern trade and seas. His great experience was now at the disposal of his own countrymen, and in 1595 he led a Dutch fleet to the Indies, which got as far as Batavia. From Batavia it is not a long cry to China and Japan; and on the coasts of both Empires Dutch traders were soon found competing with the Spaniards and Portuguese, while Dutch privateers were harrying and capturing their ships in all the seas between the Cape and Goa on the one side and China and Japan on the other.

In 1609 the Dutch established a factory at Hirado, and from this time they made it their main object to supplant the Portuguese and Spaniards, and to acquire for themselves the profitable monopoly the former had so long enjoyed. It was a sufficiently legitimate enterprise to undertake, justifiable not only in fair commercial rivalry, but still more so from the fact that the Spaniards and Dutch were hereditary enemies, and were, at the inception of Dutch trade in Japan, actually at war, and Spain and Portugal were, as before stated, united under one crown. But it is impossible at the present date to justify methods which the Dutch did not disdain to adopt to gain their own ends. One incident may be mentioned, of which there are conflicting accounts, but we will here take that which is given by Kaempfer, who must be presumed to have heard the facts from his own Dutch employers or to have read them as they were recorded in the archives of the factory at Nagasaki. The Dutch captured a homeward-bound Portuguese ship off the

Cape of Good Hope, on board which they found some traitorous letters, written by a Japanese who was a great zealot for the Christian religion, to the King of Portugal. The Dutch took special care of the letters, and handed them without delay to the Japanese authorities. The writer was arrested, and though he and all the Portuguese at Nagasaki firmly denied all knowledge of the letters, "hand and seal convicted them," and the writer was sentenced to be burned alive, a sentence which was duly carried out.

"The letters disclosed a plot which the Japanese Christians had formed, in conjunction with the Portuguese, against the life of the Shōgun, and to bring Japan into subjection to Portugal (Spain), the want they stood in of ships and soldiers, the names of Japanese princes concerned in the conspiracy, and lastly their hopes to receive the papal blessing. This discovery made by the Dutch was afterwards confirmed by another letter from the same writer to the Portuguese Governor of Macow, which was intercepted and brought to Japan by a Japanese ship. Considering this and the suspicions which the Court had already then conceived against the Portuguese, it was no difficult matter thoroughly to ruin the little credit and favour they had as yet been able to preserve, the rather since, the Imperial order notwithstanding, they did not leave off privately to bring over more ecclesiastics."

Kaempfer relates this incident with complete approval. It need not be argued here whether, as a question of ethics, it would be justifiable on the part of a people desirous to bring ruin upon trade rivals, against whom they were further inflamed by all the worst passions of religious and racial hatred, to gain their ends by means which were certain to involve the deaths under torture of numbers of their fellow creatures. Apart from that, there can be no hesitation in condemning the act of the Dutch as one of the most cold-blooded incidents of perfidy that the world has seen, when it is known, as

later researches have disclosed, that the letters were forgeries, perpetrated by the Dutch in Japan, and, in the last case, contrived by them to be hidden in the place where they were found, and that the Dutch silently stood by and saw many innocent Japanese put to painful deaths without an effort to save them. The discovery of these letters had further disastrous consequences. They provoked the Japanese Government into new repressive measures against native Christians, the severity of which drove them into the revolt of Shimabara, and that, as has been told in the last chapter, ended in the massacre of forty thousand people and the final extirpation of Christianity in Japan.

The Dutch, however, gained their end. In 1637 a new edict was issued by the Shōgun, Iyemitsu, the grandson of Iyeyasu, the consequences of which were far-reaching and enduring. Japan, until the opening of the seventeenth century, was free to all the world. Not only were people of all nationalities, European and Asiatic, at liberty to come at any time to any part of the country, but they were as cordially welcomed as the pioneers of Chinese civilization had been at the dawn of history in the sixth and seventh centuries. When in the country, they found that all in Japan were free to go and reside where they pleased, they were at liberty to practise their own religions, and they could not be more eager for trade with the people than the people were to trade with them. They found the people thirsting for knowledge of Europe and all that related to it, its nationalities, productions, sciences and history. The religion of Europe was received with toleration by the whole nation, and with reverence by a large section. The Japanese themselves were bold and enterprising sailors and explorers, making their way to and their mark in all the great countries of the East. All this was changed by one stroke of the pen. Foreigners of all races were

forbidden by a new edict to come to Japan, and Japanese equally to go abroad. The penalty of death was prescribed for all, whether Japanese or foreigners, who violated its terms, for all who propagated the doctrines of Christians or bore their scandalous name. It especially banished the whole race of Portuguese, their families, servants, and whatever belonged to them, and offered large rewards for the discovery of priests. It prescribed the penalty of death even for one who brought a letter from abroad, or presumed to intercede on behalf of those who were condemned under its other provisions. Japan now became the hermit nation which she was destined to remain for two hundred and seventeen years, until, in 1854, Commodore Perry and his powerful fleet of American warships once more opened her doors.

It required two years to enable all the Portuguese residents to be finally deported, and the last of them did not leave till the close of 1639. "They had amused themselves" in these years with hopes that they might be able to obtain leave to remain and continue their trade, "which they were as unwilling to lose as their lives," but the Shōgun was adamant. In the next year an embassy was sent from Macao, fortified with full credentials, bringing with them neither priests nor merchandise, as honestly as it was apparently a purely diplomatic mission. It consisted of four Portuguese of rank and experience: Lewis Paez Pacheo, Commander of the Army of Portugal; Rodericus Sanchez de Paredos; Gonsalez Monteiro de Cavallo; and Simon Vaz de Pavia; "all wise, virtuous and prudent men." They were accompanied by a retinue of seventy persons. On their arrival in Nagasaki they were immediately arrested, their ship seized, and though they protested that they were neither merchants nor priests, but ambassadors who had come to conclude a treaty with Japan, and were, therefore, under the law of nations entitled to safe conduct,

all were condemned for violating the edict of the Shōgun. They were forced to walk above a league, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the "Mountain of Martyrs," and were there beheaded on the spot which had already been the scene of so much bloodshed and agony. Thirteen of the members of the retinue of the lowest rank were spared to carry back to Macao the news of what had happened. Before they sailed they were brought to see the graves of their countrymen, over which a notice had been erected—

"For the future, let none, so long as the Sun illuminates the world, presume to sail to Japan, not even in the quality of ambassadors, and this declaration is never to be revoked on pain of death."

Guard-houses were established on the summits of the high hills around Nagasaki, where materials for bonfires were always kept ready at hand. On every hill-top, the whole way to Yedo, fully six hundred miles as the crow flies, similar fire stations were established. Orders were given that whenever a fleet of not less than ten European ships should be seen approaching the harbour, the fires should be lighted at once and continued from hill to hill, so that the news could be known at the capital in less than twenty-four hours,[1] and every feudal prince throughout the Empire knew the precise post which he was to take with his men to defend his country. Everything was so organized in advance that all the coast defences would have been fully manned within a few hours after the mountain fires had signalled their warning.

Although the natural harbour advantages of Nagasaki induced the Portuguese to fix their chief establishment

[1] To the present day, when there are telegraphs all over the country, the Japanese still send messages by flag signals from hill-top to hill-top, and they say that a message can be communicated by flag signals from Osaka to Himeji, two great rice markets, about forty miles apart, more quickly than it can by telegraph.

in the town, their ships were free to enter and themselves to reside in any part of Kiushiu until 1635. They required the consent of the local feudal prince in whose fief the port lay, but so far from that being any difficulty, all the princes were vying with each other as to which could offer the foreigners the greatest inducements to make use of his own port. In this year a change was made, and as a measure to prevent the smuggling of priests, all the Portuguese traders were restricted to the artificial island of Desima in Nagasaki harbour. The Dutch, on the other hand, who imported no priests, were permitted to continue their original factory at Hirado, which they had by this time established on a scale of great size and magnificence, so as to be worthy of the prosperous trade they hoped for. "No measure was neglected, no trouble or expense spared by them that could please or conciliate the Japanese authorities, from the Shōgun at the Court down to the pettiest local official. The most exquisite curiosities of nature and art were brought over for the annual presents. The hardest and most unreasonable commands were blindly and impassively obeyed." Honour was sacrificed and Christianity outraged in the ignoble and cruel part that was played at Shimabara, and the reward was permission to reside and trade in Japan, when all the rest of the world was excluded. But the Japanese, with their high ideals of honour and patriotism, with the utter scorn for money for money's sake which is one of the cardinal points of the Samurai faith, formed their own estimate of the people who, for the sake of commercial privileges were willing to soil their hands with the blood of those of their own faith.

"Many generous and noble persons at the Court and in the Empire judged quite otherwise of our conduct, and not too favourably for the credit we had thereby endeavoured to gain. It seemed to them inconsistent with reason that the

Dutch should ever be expected to be sincerely faithful to a foreign monarch, and one, too, whom they looked upon as a heathen prince, whilst they showed so much forwardness to assist him in the destruction of a people with whom they had otherwise agreed in the most essential parts of their faith. In short, our humble, obliging conduct notwithstanding, we were so far from bringing this proud and jealous nation to any greater confidence or more intimate friendship, that on the contrary their jealousy and mistrust seemed to increase in proportion to the many proofs of faithfulness and sincerity we gave them, and that the better we deserved of them the more they seemed to hate and despise us."

The Dutch were allowed to continue their trade, but they were ordered, at a moment's notice, to level their grand factory at Hirado to the ground, and to move with all their belongings to the vacated Portuguese settlement at Desima, and there to suffer perpetual imprisonment, under conditions so degrading as to be scarcely credible when one remembers that they were imposed on citizens of one of the most independent nations of Europe. The history of the Jews at their worst period in the Middle Ages shows no more striking incidents of abject servitude than that of the Dutch traders in Japan. Ten years ago Desima still existed as it was two hundred years before, and some of the old Dutch residences were still standing. Its length is six hundred, its breadth two hundred and forty feet, and its shape resembles a fan without a handle. It lies in the upper end of Nagasaki harbour, the widest point directly facing the harbour entrance. On this little spot the Dutch were rigidly interned as close prisoners from year's end to year's end. The whole island was enclosed with high deal boards, covered with a projecting roof, so that none within the island could see anything outside other than the high slopes and summits of the surrounding hills, on which the Dutch were permitted to gaze but never to set foot. A few paces off the island thirteen very high posts were

erected in the sea at regular intervals, with notices in large writing forbidding, under severe penalty, all boats to come within the rails, or even to approach them on the sea. The island is connected with the town by a stone bridge, where there was a guard-house with sentries always on watch. No unlicensed Japanese was permitted to enter, no Dutchman to go out, except on rare and special occasions, and then permission had to be obtained with many formalities, and each individual Dutchman had to be accompanied by and defray the expenses of an escort of not less than thirty persons. "They were perpetually guarded and narrowly watched as if they were the greatest malefactors on earth, spies or traitors, in a word, the worst and most dangerous set of people." Once every year the head of the factory and some of his staff were required to make the long journey to Yedo to have an audience with the Shōgun. Throughout the whole journey, a journey which can now be made in two days, but then occupied two months, they were kept in the same rigid seclusion as they were in their island, lodged at night only in the back rooms of inns, forbidden to communicate with the people, even with the domestics of the inn, male or female, except in the seclusion of their own rooms, through the bribed connivance of their guards; in the daytime, while on their way, they were carried in veiled palanquins, and prevented, as far as possible, from seeing the country through which they passed.

Their imprisonment was the smallest part of the degrading humiliation to which they had to submit. They were forbidden to display any of the symbols of Christianity or to celebrate divine service, and the present writer, when in Nagasaki, was more than once told by native scholars that they had also to undergo the ordeal of trampling on the cross. He was, however, never able to find any confirmation of this story. Their annual

audience with the Shōgun in the capital, the chief object of which was to lay before him the presents sent by the Company, lasted for a little over two hours. They entered the presence crawling on their hands and knees, and bent their foreheads humbly to the ground, and then they were called upon to make a display of the manners and customs of the Europeans for the amusement of the Court. In the presence of the Shōgun and his ladies, who were behind a screen through which they could see without themselves being seen, and of the Court, the grave and serious Dutchmen, the representatives of one of the greatest commercial companies in the world, men of high reputation and standing in their own country, were called upon—the description is Kaempfer's—

"to sit upright, to take off our cloaks, to tell him our names and age, to stand up, to walk, to turn about, to dance, to sing songs, to compliment one another, to be angry, to invite one another to dinner, to converse, to discourse in a familiar way like father and son, to show how two friends or man and wife compliment or take leave of one another, to play with children, to carry them about upon our arms, and to do many more things of like nature. Then again we were commanded to read and to dance, separately and jointly. We were then further commanded to put on our hats, to walk about the room discoursing with one another, to take off our perukes. Then I was desired once more to come nearer the screen, and to take off my peruke. Then they made us jump, dance, play gambols, and walk together. Then they made us kiss one another, like man and wife, which the ladies particularly showed by their laughter to be well pleased with. They desired us further to show them what sorts of compliments it was customary in Europe to make to inferiors, to ladies, to superiors, to princes, to kings. After this they begged another song of me."

It was, however, only in those parts of the country, Nagasaki and Yedo, where their record was best known and remembered, that the Dutch were subjected to these galling buffooneries, and the innate courtesy and

hospitality of the Japanese were amply displayed during their journeys to and from the capital. They were, as before stated, rigidly guarded, and prevented from holding any communication with the natives on the route, but some of the compliments that were obligatory on the passage of the trains of the Japanese feudal princes were shown to the Dutch by the local authorities of the districts through which their journey lay. The roads were swept, and all foul objects removed in advance of their coming, and as they passed crowding of the people was restrained. Though they had to pay handsomely for the privilege, they were lodged in the very best inns, and one strange exception was made to the iron restrictions imposed upon their sight-seeing. In Kioto, the sacred capital, the town of the mysterious Ecclesiastical Emperor, the very holy of holies among the Japanese cities, the Dutch, though they seem to have thought so little of the Ecclesiastical Emperor, at the very doors of whose palace they were, that they never asked one single question about him, were escorted to all the great and historic temples, and the greatest trouble was taken to show them all the treasures in each. It is evident that the presence of foreigners was not then looked upon as a pollution in the Land of the Gods, and that all the humiliation which the Dutch suffered was due only to the contempt engendered by their own degraded conduct.

In the early period of their trade, six or seven Dutch ships arrived annually, but their number was later reduced to two. When the ships, after their long voyage, dropped anchor in the harbour, they were at once surrounded by guard-boats; all arms of every kind were taken, and retained so long as the ship remained in harbour, even the heavy guns and the rudder of the ship being removed; a list was made of every man on board; and although the ship was only three hundred yards from the island, no one was allowed to land or

embark without passes, not even the sailors of the ship to take what exercise was possible for them within the confines of the little island after their long confinement on board. Before the ship arrived in the port, all papers, books, Bibles, anything, even coins, which bore the semblance of a cross or any words that remotely indicated Christianity, were packed away and hidden in the lowest depths of the hold. Such were the conditions under which European trade was conducted from 1641 to 1858, when, under the new treaties, Japan was, after her long seclusion, opened to the trade of all the world.

If the conditions of trade were humiliating, its profits were great. In 1641 eighty tons of gold and fourteen hundred chests of silver were exported in payment for the goods sold to the Japanese; but as more and more onerous restrictions gradually fettered the interchange of merchandise, the staff of the factory, which at first consisted of over twenty persons, was reduced to seven or eight, and the volume of trade dwindled until, in 1665, only ten tons of gold and three hundred chests of silver were received. The aggregate profits continued, however, to the close to be at the rate of from eighty to ninety per cent., while the gains from the private trade, which the individual members of the factory were permitted to carry on, were so great that only three years' service was required to enable the head to retire with an ample competency.

While the whole record of the Dutch at Desima is one of sordid degradation, which, at the present day, can only bring a blush to the cheeks of every European who reads it, it was relieved by one romantic incident. In the Napoleonic wars Holland was blotted out of the map of Europe, and in 1811 Batavia, the head-quarters of the Dutch Company in the East, was captured by the English. In the political confusion, the little settlement of Desima was entirely forgotten and shut off from all

communication with the outward world, till the Treaty of Paris re-established Holland as a nation and restored to it its colony in Java. During the four years that passed in the interim the Dutch flag was daily hoisted in Desima, and it was the only place in all the world in which it was kept flying.

When the Dutch, Portuguese and Spaniards were all at their highest rivalry, the English also made attempts to gain a foothold in Japan, and for a brief period also maintained a factory at Hirado. The first Englishman who, so far as is known, ever landed in Japan was Will Adams. According to his own account of himself, he was a "Kentish man born in a town called Gillingham, two English miles from Rochester, one mile from Chatham, where the King's ships doe lie," who from the age of twelve years was brought up at Limehouse, "being apprenticed twelve years to Master Nicholas Diggins." Adams served as master and pilot in her Majesty's ships for eleven or twelve years, and with "the Worshipful Company of the Barbary merchants, until the Indish traffic from Holland, in which Indish traffic he was desirous to make a little experience of the little knowledge God had given him." In July 1598 he set sail from the Texel as pilot-master of a fleet of five Dutch ships, "which was made ready by the Indish Company to trade with Spanish America, he himself being in the flagship *De Leeuw*."

In April 1599 they arrived at the Straits of Magellan, where they remained six months; and then, when the winter was over, they again set sail, this time being minded to reach Japan, where "Dick Gerrilson, one of the crew who had been there with the Portugals," told them there was a great market for woollen cloth. Six months later, on the 19th of April, 1600, *De Leeuw*, the one surviving ship of the fleet, arrived at Bungo with only twenty-three men of all her crew left, and only five

of them were able to carry on their work, so terrible had the ravages of scurvy been on their voyage. They were landed and kindly treated, and their arrival reported to the Shōgun, Iyeyasu, who soon summoned them before him. Adams tells his experience in one of his own letters—

"I was carried in one of the King's gallies to the Court at Osaka, where the King lay, about eighty leagues from the place where the ship was. The 12th of May, 1600, I came to the King's city, who caused me to be brought into the Court, being a wonderfully costly house gilded with gold in abundance. Coming before the King, he viewed me well, and seemed to be wonderfully favourable. He made many signs unto me, some of which I understood and some I did not. In the end there came one who could speak Portuguese. By him the King demanded of me what land I was, and what moved us to come to his land, being so far off. I showed him the name of our country, and that our land had long sought the East Indies, and desired friendship with all kings and potentates in the way of merchandise, having in our land divers commodities which these lands had not, and also to buy such merchandise in this land which our country had not. Then he asked whether our country had wars. I answered him yes, with the Spaniards and Portuguese, being in peace with all other nations. Further, he asked me in what I did believe? I said in God that made heaven and earth. He asked me divers other questions of things of religion and many other things, as the way we came to the country. Having the chart of the whole world, I showed him, through the Straits of Magellan. At which he wondered and thought me to lie. Thus from one thing to another I abode with him to midnight. And having asked me what merchandise we had in our ship, I showed him all. In the end, he being ready to depart, I desired that we might have trade of merchandise as the Portuguese and Spaniards had. To which he made me an answer, but what it was I did not understand. So he commanded me to be carried to prison. But two days after, he sent for me again and inquired of the qualities and conditions of the countries, of wars and peace, of beasts and cattle of all sorts, and of the heavens. It seemed that he was well content with all my answers to his demands. Nevertheless I was condemned to prison again, but my lodging was bettered in another place."

He was fated never to leave Japan again. Iyeyasu recognized his abilities and his honesty, and kept him at his own Court, employing him both as a shipbuilder and teacher of mathematics and astronomy, and also as an intermediary with the Dutch and English, who were now beginning to find their way in greater numbers to Japan. His captivity was rendered as easy as it could be made. A wife and an estate were given to him, so that he might live in comfort, but though Iyeyasu was willing to listen to all his entreaties to be allowed to return to his native land and see once more the English wife and children whom he had left there, the opportunity never presented itself in circumstances that enabled him to take advantage of it, and the old sailor had to find such consolation for his exile as prosperity and good report could give him in his Japanese home. He died on the 6th of May, 1620, having lived almost exactly twenty years in Japan, and during those twenty years the only attempts that were made by the English to enter into commercial relations with Old Japan began and ended.

The East India Company of England was incorporated in 1600, and following in the trail of the Dutch, it sent the good ship *Clove*, one of three fitted out by the Company for their eighth voyage to the Indies, to Japan, under the command of Captain John Saris, with Mr. Richard Cocks as supercargo or master merchant. The *Clove* arrived at Hirado on the 11th of June, 1613, and a factory was established close to that of the Dutch, and placed in charge of Cocks, who had eight other Englishmen under him. Through Adams's good offices, Saris obtained an interview with Iyeyasu, and ample privileges were given which might have been extremely advantageous to the Company, privileges, indeed, which afforded the most convincing testimony of the extreme liberality of the Japanese at this period of their history, even though they had already begun to be suspicious of

the ultimate motives of their Christian visitors. More, far more was granted to Saris, at the head of his adventurers in one single ship, through the intermediation of a rough old sailor, than Perry with his great squadron of United States war-ships, or Lord Elgin, fresh from his triumph in China, with not only a fleet, but an army, at his call, was able to exact two hundred and fifty years later. Not only was exterritoriality granted—the right of the officials of the factory to punish their own men according to their own laws for offences committed on Japanese soil—but the very widest privileges of trade were freely and unreservedly given. English ships were permitted to carry on trade of all kinds without hindrance of any kind, and to put into any harbour, either for trade or refuge. The ports in Kiushiu, far away from Yedo, had hitherto been the only places to which the Dutch and Portuguese had access. The English were specially invited by Iyeyasu to settle in his own flourishing and rapidly growing capital. They were told that they might erect houses and reside and trade there, and that they should be at liberty to return to their country whenever they wished, and to dispose of their houses as they pleased when they did so. No wider commercial concession was ever granted by one independent country to another. It filled the Dutch, who had already been settled at Hirado for five years, with envy at the prospect of the unlimited scope that was thus given to the English of a trade of the enormous profits of which they had already such full experience. How were these great privileges obtained? The English were perfect strangers to Iyeyasu, except in the person of the old seaman who had landed in Japan, broken with sickness and in destitution. It was the transparent honesty of that old sailor, his rough tact and willing services, which had so impressed the great Shōgun, one of whose marked qualities was that of being a keen judge

of men, that he was more favourably disposed to his countrymen than he ever was to the priest-smuggling Portuguese or the avaricious and unscrupulous Dutch. With all these promises, the English adventure proved an utter failure. Despite the coveted privileges which had been given them, despite all Adams's persistent remonstrances, despite the fact that he had prepared charts of the Eastern coast, and had pointed out that it was infinitely less dangerous to navigation than the rocky and island-studded shores of Kiushiu, Saris, in a fatuity of obstinacy and ignorance, insisted on establishing his factory at Hirado at the very doors of the Dutch, in a district already thoroughly exploited by them, which, even if it had not been so, was in all its resources and potentialities as far beneath Yedo as in any country a remote, not over-populated province would be to a prosperous and rapidly growing capital. The Dutch had already acquired much experience of Japanese taste and requirements, and were able to satisfy their customers better than the English, who were utterly ignorant of both, and they were wise and farseeing enough to be content to suffer present loss, in the hope of securing a monopoly that they saw would be a veritable gold-mine in the future. They deliberately undersold the English in whatever goods the latter happened to have that were found attractive by the Japanese. At sea the ships of the two nations fought whenever they met, and the Dutch, larger and better found, were usually victorious. On shore the Dutch and English sailors were constantly fighting, to the disturbance of peace and good order to such an extent that Japanese guards had to be placed in the English residency to protect it from the Dutch, who were far superior in number. Finally, the acme of ingratitude was reached when Saris and Cocks alienated the man to whom they owed everything, who had tried his very utmost to serve

them, by a series of petty squabbles over charges and remittances, which, however substantial they may have been in the eyes of a poor sailor, were utterly contemptible from the point of view of the chief representatives of a wealthy company of commercial prospectors trying to lay the foundations of a prosperous trade. Adams perhaps found the Dutch more grateful friends than his own countrymen, and it is possible that the great influence he possessed with Iyeyasu may have been exercised in favour of the Dutch traders after he had quarrelled with his own countrymen. Whatever the reason, whether it was Adams's influence, or the inability of the English to serve the wants and humour the temper of Iyeyasu as well as the Portuguese and Dutch had done, the factory was not a commercial success, and in 1619 it was finally withdrawn, after having suffered aggregate losses which have been variously estimated at from seven to forty thousand pounds.

In 1672, when England was at war with Holland, two ships, the *Experiment* and the *Return*, were dispatched to the Far East for the purpose of injuring the Dutch trade, especially to break up the factory at Desima, and to secure their good reception by the Shōgun, the commander carried with him an autograph letter from Charles II. The expedition was a failure both as a political and commercial venture. The *Experiment* was captured on her way by the Dutch, and only the *Return* reached Nagasaki, where she arrived in 1675. Her experience there was worthy of her name. The Japanese refused to enter into any relations at all, an attitude which was confirmed by the Dutch, if confirmation was wanting, who told them the King of England had married a Portuguese Princess, and was both politically and matrimonially allied with countries where the hated Catholic religion was part of the national foundation, and the *Return* was directed to leave the harbour

From that time no further attempt was made to share in Japan's trade by the English until Lord Elgin concluded his treaty in 1858. English vessels occasionally appeared off the coast. The *Phaeton*, a celebrated frigate, commanded by the equally celebrated Sir Edward Pellew, suddenly entered Nagasaki in 1808 in search of Dutch prizes. Consternation spread through the city, but, nothing daunted by her appearance, which was "that of a strong castle," the local governor made preparations to seize or destroy her, "as the Spaniards had been destroyed ninety years before,[1] although with the barges he had at his disposal he might as well have tried to batter down a stone wall with eggs." Fortunately, before the harbour could be blocked or the attacking fleet assembled, the *Phaeton* sailed away uninjured and having done no injury herself. Her visit was, however, not unattended by unhappy consequences, as the governor and several officers committed *hara-kiri* in their shame at having allowed her to escape. When she had gone and her sails had sunk below the horizon, the fleet that had been summoned from the neighbouring ports to destroy her entered the harbour—

"The squadron of eighty ships approached the anchorage in line like a flight of wild geese, gradually coiling themselves up into a circular form like a chrysanthemum, with the Admiral's ship in the centre. Unfolded, their array would have filled the whole harbour like a great sea serpent. The signal for advance was a drum; for halting, a gong. The waters of the bay were stained with the reflections from

[1] The destruction of a Spanish three-decked ship in the harbour of Nagasaki is related by Kaempfer. The date is not given by him, but the archives of the Dutch factory, now preserved at the Hague, show that it was in 1610. The Spanish ship was surrounded and boarded, and her crew, driven from deck to deck by overwhelming numbers, blew up each upper deck in turn as they retreated to the lower. At last the ship sank, and all on board perished, but they fought with the utmost bravery to the last, and more than three thousand Japanese were killed, so that the harbour was covered with Japanese bodies. The name of the Spanish ship was the *Madre de Dios*.

their green and crimson screens; their flags waved to the wind, and the swords and spears glanced in the sunlight. The rows of matchlocks in sheaths of red cloth, which were leant over each ship's side, reminded one of the claws of a lobster, while the gold and silver ensigns and standards dazzled all beholders. Every one was full of admiration."

For over two hundred years—from 1643, when the Dutch were first consigned to their prison at Desima, till 1853, when Commodore Perry and his fleet entered the Gulf of Yedo—the story of foreign commerce in Japan may be said to be a blank. During all this time Japan saw nothing of the outer world, and the very little she heard of it filtered through the Dutch settlement, to reach her in a form so purified that it contained no germs injurious to her own arrogant pride. She was happy in her isolation, and in her ignorance of all the great events that were stirring the world and of the scientific discoveries that were revolutionizing all the details of daily life. She enjoyed perfect domestic peace, and thought herself secure from foreign incursions in the valour of her people and in the stormy seas that surrounded her coasts, while all that was necessary for the comfort and luxury of her own people was produced in abundance within her own borders. But while other nations were advancing, Japan stood still. As she was in 1637, when Iyemitsu closed the doors of the country against all but a handful of degraded Dutchmen, so she was in 1853, the same socially and economically, with the same appliances for both peace and war, the same communications both by land and sea. The Dutch, the only Europeans she saw, were still her subservient tools, still only the hucksters, whose sole thought was that of gain, whose sole occupation was that which was in her eyes the most degraded of all. Her estimate of all Europeans was based on her knowledge of the Dutch, traitors to their co-religionists, abject slaves to

the Japanese, and that knowledge convinced her that her own people were in reality what their religion was teaching them to believe, the inhabitants of a land favoured above all lands by the Gods of Heaven, and worthy in all their own virtues to possess it. All this belief had a rude awakening.

The great Powers of Europe were still too fully occupied in international complications among themselves to give any thought to an unknown island empire so far away, when the United States, unhampered by external politics, resolved to take upon herself the task of drawing Japan out of her isolation and into the comity of the nations of the world, by fair means if possible, by force if argument failed. The Government of the States had reasons to move it which did not apply to the great Powers of Europe. The discovery of gold in California gave a great impetus to the prosperity of the West. China was opened to foreign trade by English arms, and between China and California a great trade might well arise. Japan lay on the ocean highway between the two countries, and it was essential that her ports should be open for refuge to vessels passing between them. The whale-fishing industry in the Pacific was large and prosperous. Some vessels engaged in it had been already wrecked on the coasts of Japan, and their treatment had not been all that could be desired; others might be, and it was essential that security be exacted that the previous experience of the shipwrecked crews should not be repeated. The decision was taken to send to Japan an envoy with a fleet at his command sufficiently strong to ensure a respectful hearing of all he had to say. The envoy chosen was Commodore Perry, the commander of the fleet. The Japanese had been warned of his coming by the Dutch, but they had paid little heed to the warning, and when Perry's fleet sailed into the Gulf of Tokio on the 8th of

July, 1853, they were taken almost by utter surprise, and the surprise was greater when Perry answered the demand that he should take his fleet to Nagasaki and there deal with the Japanese, as was required by their national laws, through the medium of the Dutch, by declaring that the laws of his country and his own instructions required him to deal directly with Japanese authorities of his own rank at the seat of the Central Government of the Empire. He brought with him a letter from the President addressed to the Emperor of Japan in which the object of his mission was described, and on his first visit he contented himself with delivering this letter, with the intimation that he would return in the following year for an answer.

In the following February he reappeared, this time with a greatly increased fleet, and proceeding, without asking permission, further up the Gulf than he had done on the first visit, calmly awaited the reply to his letter. The Government of the Shōgun had, in the intervening months, recognized their incapacity, with their antiquated weapons and their long desuetude from war, to oppose him by force. Many of the most powerful Daimios advocated resistance at all hazard, but the Shōgun's Government, better informed than the local Daimios, better able to judge European military strength and Japan's weakness, yielded to necessity, and after much discussion a treaty was signed on the 31st of March, 1854. Its main provisions were that the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate should be opened to American shipping and trade, that shipwrecked crews should be relieved and the necessary supplies of provisions furnished to ships, and that a consul might be stationed at Shimoda.

The outbreak of the Crimean War was then in view. A Russian naval squadron was in the Chinese waters, and an English squadron was watching it. In order

that the Russians might not find refuge in the unknown harbours of Japan, the British Admiral, Sir James Stirling, called at Nagasaki to inquire as to the attitude which the Government proposed to adopt towards the belligerents, and incidentally to his visit he concluded a convention on similar terms to those of Commodore Perry's. As events turned out, the Russian Admiral, Putiatin, did enter the harbour of Shimoda, where his ship the *Diana* was wrecked by the great tidal wave of 1854. Perry and Stirling had both left the coasts. There was yet no communication between Japan and the outward world, and Putiatin and his crew had no means by which they could escape from the scene of their shipwreck, and they were compelled to remain in Japan till May of the following year. Some were then taken away by an American schooner which called at Shimoda, the first merchant ship to profit by the new treaty. The rest escaped in a vessel which they built for themselves from the wreckage of their own ship and from the materials that were available in Japan. Putiatin utilized his enforced stay to conclude a convention on behalf of Russia, and in the following year another was obtained by Holland, so that Japan had now entered into treaty relations with four of the Powers of the West, and the rights she had claimed to drive Europeans from her coast, to put them to death if they deliberately landed, were at an end.

None of the new conventions could be called commercial treaties in the fullest sense of the words, as the trade for which they stipulated was only that of supplying ships with their essential requirements, and the main result that was achieved was that of providing what was, after all, nothing but harbours of refuge. The first step had, however, been taken, and the first use that was made of the privileges of the treaty was fortunate beyond measure. A consul was stationed at Shimoda, and the

person chosen for the post, Mr. Townsend Harris, the first foreign official of any Western nationality to reside in Japan, was one singularly gifted with tact, courage, patience and firmness. The story of how, unbacked by any display of force under his country's flag, he succeeded by his own personal efforts in overcoming the traditional hatred of centuries to even the smallest association with foreigners, is one of marvellous tact and patience, of steady determination and courage, of straightforward uprightness in every respect, that is not exceeded by any in the entire history of the international relations of the world. He won, in his long residence in Japan, the confidence and trust of the Japanese, and when, four years later, he told them that the conquering fleets of England and France, fresh from their victories in China, would soon be in their waters, prepared to extort from them as comprehensive a treaty as they had secured from China, they yielded to his advice and signed a Treaty of Trade and Shipping so complete that when the British and French ambassadors arrived shortly afterwards, nothing was left for them but to follow the precedent he had made. Under the new treaties, certain ports were at once opened to the trade and residence of the citizens of the contracting Powers, and a new chapter began in Japanese history.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TOKUGAWA SHŌGUNS

IYEYASU on his death in the year 1616 was succeeded by his son Hidetada. As has been before stated, Iyeyasu abdicated in 1603, though he continued to retain in his own hands the *de facto* administration of the Government, and Hidetada was therefore nominally Shōgun from 1603 till 1623, when he in his turn also abdicated, but it was only on his father's death that he began to govern in reality. He was content to carry on his father's policy—including the persecution of the Christians—and having both the aid of the ministers who had served his father and a country to govern that was brought into complete submission by his father's victories and statesmanship, every inhabitant of which enjoyed the blessings of universal peace after centuries of civil war, he had an easy task, and nothing of a political nature occurred during his tenure of the Shōgunate that requires specific mention. Carrying out his father's dying wishes, he began the erection of the splendid mausoleum at Nikko, the greatest triumph of architectural and decorative art that has ever been achieved in Japan, which to this day is, in itself and its natural surroundings, the synonym of beauty in Japan and the subject of wondering admiration to every foreign tourist.

On his abdication in 1623, Hitetada was succeeded by his son Iyemitsu, who, next to Iyeyasu, was the ablest of all the Tokugawa Shōguns, who, though he had no opportunity of displaying military capacity in either

foreign or domestic wars, showed that in other respects he had inherited his grandfather's courage, capacity and determination in the fullest degree. He furnished an exception to the general custom of abdication by retaining both the name and reality of power till he was actually on his death-bed. It was under him that the Christian persecution reached its apogee of relentlessness and cruelty, that the final massacre took place at Shimabara, that the Dutch were interned at Desima, and the Empire closed to foreign intercourse, and, as regards purely domestic policy, that his grandfather's hold over the territorial princes was irresistibly strengthened by the obligation which he imposed on them of spending part of each year in Yedo, his own capital. He greatly extended the capital, which was further ennobled by the palaces which the Daimios built everywhere throughout it for the accommodation of themselves and their retainers, and contributed to the health and comfort of the inhabitants by the construction of the Tama Gawa aqueduct, which brings water to the city from a distance of twenty-seven miles, and is to this day one of the chief sources of its supply. An estimate may be formed of the size to which the capital had grown from statistics of one of the most destructive fires that is recorded in the Japanese annals. It took place in 1657, and 500 palaces of the territorial princes, 770 residences of lesser nobility, 150 temples and 1200 streets are said to have been totally destroyed, while over 107,000 lives were lost.

The next Shōgun, Tsunayoshi (1681–1709), was born under the zodiacal sign of the dog, and his character may be estimated from the fact that dogs were ordered by him to be regarded as sacred animals. A higher degree of protection was afforded to them while he lived than was given to human beings, and injuries to them were punished by more severe penalties. It was in his

reign that Kaempfer lived in Japan, and it was at his Court that Kaempfer underwent the humiliating ordeal that has been described in the previous chapter. In speaking of the dogs, Kaempfer says—

"Since the now reigning Emperor came to the throne there are more dogs bred in Japan than perhaps in any one Country whatever, and than there were before even in this Empire. They have their masters, indeed, but lie about the streets, and are very troublesome to passengers and travellers. Every street must, by special command of the Emperor, keep a certain number of these animals, and provide them with victuals. There are huts built in every street, where they are taken care of when they fall sick. Those that die must be carried up to the tops of mountains and hills, as the usual burying places, and very decently interred. Nobody may, under severe penalties, insult or abuse them, and to kill them is a capital crime, whatever mischief they do. In this case, notice of their misdemeanours must be given to the keepers, who are alone empowered to chastise and punish them. This extraordinary care for the preservation of the dog-kind is the effect of a superstitious fancy of the now reigning Emperor who was born in the sign of the dog, and hath for this reason so great an esteem for this animal, as the great Roman Emperor Augustus Caesar is reported in histories to have had for Rams. The natives tell a pleasant tale on this head. A Japanese, as he was carrying up the dead carcass of a dog to the top of a mountain, in order to its burial, grew impatient, grumbled and cursed the Emperor's birthday and commands. His companion, though sensible of the justice of his complaints, bid him hold his tongue and be quiet, and instead of swearing and cursing, return thanks to the Gods that the Emperor was not born in the Sign of the Horse, because in that case the load would have been much heavier."

In Nagasaki the orders were not so strictly complied with as in other parts of the Empire,

"yet the streets lie full of these animals, leading a most easy and quiet life, giving way neither to men nor horses. If they happen to hurt anybody, or otherwise do mischief, so as to deserve punishment or death, nobody dares presume to

touch them but the public Executioner, and not even he without a direct order from the Governor.

"Our servants brought a native of Nagasaki, who, they said, had worked for us, to me to dress him. As he was walking along the streets a great dog caught hold of him and bit him cruelly in the calf of his leg. Upon our asking whether or no he had revenged himself upon the dog, he returned in answer that he was not such a fool as to run the hazard of his life into the bargain. For, said he, we are forbid under severe penalties to kill any tame cock or hen; and to kill a dog, for which animal the Emperor hath a peculiar esteem, is a capital crime. If a dog or other tame animal dies, the housekeeper must notify its death to the commanding officer of the street."

With all his superstition, and a taste for debauchery, especially as he grew older, which led him to the society of degraded favourites and was in a certain sense the cause of his death, he was an enlightened patron of art, science and literature, and the period of Genroku in the Japanese calendar is noted as that of the greatest activity in art, recalling in that respect the brightest days of the Ashikaga. But, as the Ashikaga Period was also the most terrible period of suffering from civil war, so was that of Tsunayoshi from natural calamity. In 1703, a fire, little less devastating than that of 1657, broke out in Yedo. Destructive earthquakes were frequent, one of them being that which was accompanied by a terrible eruption of Mount Fuji, when the perfect symmetry of the sacred mountain was spoilt by the new peak called Hoyei which was, on this occasion, developed on its north-western slope. The eruption lasted fifteen days, and the dust carried from the mountain fell on Yedo, seventy miles distant, to a depth of two inches. This was Fuji's last effort. Since then its fires have disappeared and the mountain has preserved an unbroken repose. Tsunayoshi paid for the degrading debauchery of his last years with his life. He had no children. His lawful heir was his nephew. He wished to adopt one of

his unworthy favourites as his son, and so exclude the lawful heir. His own wife prevented the accomplishment of this purpose by assassinating him and then killing herself. Iyenobu (1709–1712), his successor, for whom the lady had made so great a sacrifice, lived only for three years, but endeavoured in that short period to wipe out by his conduct and government the unsavoury record of his predecessor. His son again, Iyetsuga, a boy ten years of age when he succeeded, only reigned for two years, and with him Iyeyasu's direct line came to an end. Provision had been made for this contingency by Iyeyasu. In the redistribution of the fiefs after his accession to the Shōgunate, three of the richest fiefs in the Empire, Ki, Owari and Mito, were conferred on three of his sons. Their descendants were called the Go San Kei, the three illustrious families; they took precedence of all the other Daimios, and Iyeyasu directed that successors to the Shōgunate should be chosen, in the event of the failure of his own direct line, from the cadets of one of these three families. Yoshimune (1716–1744) of the Ki family was now, in accordance with these directions, chosen as Shōgun, and the remainder of the Tokugawa Shōguns, six in all, were his direct descendants. Two of his sons and a grandson subsequently founded three noble houses, Tayasu, Hitotsubashi and Shimidzu, which were known as the Go San Kio, or Three Nobles, and the right of succeeding to the Shōgunate was extended to them. Yoshimune himself was a capable governor, and made many important reforms, among which may be mentioned the abolition of the torture of witnesses and of suspects accused of trivial offences — the torture of persons accused of grave offences continued till long after the accession of the present Emperor—and the grant of appeal to the Shōgun in all cases which involved the penalty of death, both very drastic reforms in the admin-

istration of the Criminal Law. The old, old story was repeated in the case of all his successors. As did the Emperors, the Fujiwara, the Hōjō and the Ashikaga in past ages, so now the Tokugawa Shōguns allowed themselves to lapse into idleness and effeminacy, to neglect the affairs of the state for indulgence in voluptuous or artistic pleasures, and to leave the conduct of the administration entirely to their ministers and councillors. Their direct personal authority became as nominal as that of the Emperor had been for 1200 years. Through all their reigns there is little to record in the domestic history of the country, and foreign history it had none. But these years gave a great lesson as to the heavy price the nation had to pay for its seclusion. In a previous chapter we have stated that the country produced within its own borders all that it required for the luxuries and comforts of life. This was perfectly true as a rule, and in all the normal years. All years were, however, not normal. Drought and floods played havoc with the crops then, as they do now in Japan, and when the harvest failed, no help could be had from the great rice-producing countries that were within a few days' sail from Japan, where the supply of rice, the main staple of the people's food, was overflowing and crying out for new markets. The Japanese had abundant means to pay if they could only buy, but that their law forbade them to do. Their own rice failed. They could not live on their hoarded gold, on the products of their mines or on their manufactures, whether artistic or purely economic. And so they had to starve, while they had only to stretch out their hands to find food in abundance. There is a long list of the national famines in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. No less than twenty-one are recorded in less than one hundred and fifty years, nearly an average of one in every seven years. Some were of terrible severity.

The horrors of that of 1836 far exceeded the worst that are told of the Irish famine of 1848. And famine was always accompanied or speedily followed by cholera, which carried off the weak and exhausted people by thousands. Nothing has been more remarkable in all the recent history of Japan than the rapidity with which the population has grown. Since the restoration, an annual census has been accurately taken—the system of household registration in Japan renders this a much simpler task than with us—and figures, whose absolute accuracy cannot be doubted, show that there has been a steady annual increase of over half a million in the population. It has grown from thirty millions in 1858 to fifty-two millions in 1898. In the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries no census was taken as such, but strict records of the people were kept for the purpose of disciplinary supervision and taxation. In 1750, the population was less than thirty millions, it was almost exactly the same in 1800, and it remained stationary at that figure till the country was open to foreign trade. No drain was made on the people either by war or emigration. They enjoyed absolute and unbroken peace; they could not go abroad; famine and pestilence wiped out their natural increase. Earthquakes, tidal waves and conflagrations contributed their fatal quota, but it was insignificant when compared to the ravages of the two great destroyers. Further volcanic eruptions occurred in 1783 and 1793: the first that of Asamayama, a volcano about eight thousand feet high, in the province of Shinano, which is still in full action—in it the natives say the fires are always burning—and the last at the sulphur springs at Unzen in Kiushiu, in which so many of the Christians met their deaths in the great persecution. The eruption of Asamayama began on the 25th of June and lasted till the 21st of August.

"The noise it made was like that of a thousand thunders. To the very foot the whole mountain seemed to be on fire, and from the midst of the smoke lightning flashed in every direction. Night and day were equally dark. All that happened could not be told with the tongue nor described with the pen. The lava streams flowed on to the plains to the distance of thirty-eight miles. Stones, hundreds of tons in weight, were hurled into the air and fell like the leaves of the trees, and these very stones still lie on the slopes of the mountain."

All the villages around were destroyed, the country wasted and thousands of the villagers died both in the eruption and from the famine that followed. The eruption and earthquake at Unzen were even worse. The boiling water of the springs overflowed and poured down the mountain side, sweeping the villagers before it, and condemning them to a death hardly less horrible than their ancestors may have seen the Christians suffer a hundred and fifty years previously. And at Shimabara, where the last massacre took place, earthquake spread ruin and destruction. More than 53,000 people, more than the toll of the Christians slaughtered on the last fatal day of 1643, are known to have perished in the earthquake and the eruption.

The last of the Tokugawa Shōguns was Yoshinobu, who still lives, no longer as Shōgun, but as Prince Tokugawa, in the highest rank of the ordinary nobility of the Emperor. The story of his accession and fall and the final close of the dual system of government belongs to the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPEROR

THE advent of foreigners was undoubtedly the direct cause of the fall of the walls which encircled the Government of the Shōgun and shielded it from assaults by its own people, but these walls were already tottering before the middle of the nineteenth century, and Perry only set in active motion the ram which was ready to batter them down long before his ships sailed up the Gulf of Yedo.

It has been told how Buddhism obtained a firm hold on the nation in the sixth and seventh centuries. Its influence was for a time, long in itself but only a brief interlude in the life of a nation, somewhat diminished under the persecution of Nobunaga and in its conflict with Christianity, when the Jesuits were at the height of their success, but it continued to be the principal factor in the spiritual guidance of the people, and, after the extirpation of Christianity, it regained, under the fostering care of Iyeyasu and his successors, even more than it had ever lost. While the nation was devoted to it, the ancient national religion was neglected, almost forgotten, and its precepts, among the foremost of which was that which claimed a divine origin for the Emperor, invested him with the sanctity that was due to his descent, and imposed on all the duty of implicit obedience in virtue of that descent, fell into utter neglect. The people knew that their Emperor lived at Kioto, but he was so shrouded from their gaze, his

personality so utterly lost to their knowledge, that they had practically ceased to regard him as an entity in the political system, though, theoretically, he never ceased to be the sole foundation of all honour, law and authority, even at the darkest period of his thraldom under iron-willed dictators. Nothing can better demonstrate the condition of the impotency into which he had fallen than the fact that he is only twice mentioned in the voluminous *History of the Church*, and is only referred to by Kaempfer as "the Ecclesiastical Emperor" who seems, in Kaempfer's estimation, to have been at best no more than a Pope, but less than a Pope in that he concerned himself, neither directly nor indirectly, in secular affairs. When Xavier visited Kioto, he found that the Emperor's influence was so shadowy that he did not think it worth soliciting for the Church, and Kaempfer, though he passed through Kioto on both his journeys to and from Yedo, made no effort while there to learn aught of the mysterious sovereign who lived in it, and he ignores him with a silence that is almost contemptuous. Wherever either the Jesuit Fathers or Kaempfer speak of *the* Emperor, they invariably mean the Shōgun.

In the eighteenth century, a great school of native research and learning was founded at his capital by Mitsukuni, the second Prince of Mito, who, just as Hideyoshi is called the Warwick of Japan, has been described as the Maecenas of Japan on account of his own scholarship and his encouragement of learning in others. He governed the fief of Mino from 1661 to 1690. Working under his patronage, the best scholars of the Empire explored the ancient traditions and records of the time when the Emperor was the real *de facto* as well as the *de jure* governor of the land. The result of their work was the *Dai Nihonshi*, the history of Great Japan, from the accession of the Emperor Jimmu to the abdication

of Go Komatsu, the ninety-ninth Emperor of the line. It was finished in 1715, but the times did not permit its publication, and it was not printed till 1857. Manuscript copies were made and widely circulated and, as it was used and studied, so was the long dormant national interest aroused in the ancient faith, the inevitable concomitant of which was increased reverence for the Emperor and the spread of the conviction that the continued maintenance of the dual form of government was incompatible with the full observance of that reverence. The Prince of Mito was of the Tokugawa blood, the grandson of the great founder of that family. His own family was one of the greatest branches of the Tokugawa house, one of the three which had the right to furnish a successor to the Shōgunate. His zeal for learning overcame his family loyalty and, though the Bakufu[1] attempted to repress it, the study of the national literature went on, and the true relations of the Emperor and the Shōgun, those of lord and vassal, were exposed and the desire was roused to restore them to their proper standing.

In 1827 another great work was completed, the *Nihon Guaishi* ("The External History of Japan"), which tells the history of the Shōgunate, from its foundation by Yoritomo in the twelfth century down to the accession of Iyeyasu in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *Nihon Guaishi* was as widely read by scholars as the *Dai Nihonshi*. The teaching of both works was that the Mikado was the only legitimate sovereign of the

[1] "Bakufu"—curtain office—was the usual vernacular term for the Shōgun's government. In military camps, it was customary to surround the general's quarters with a curtain. The Shōgun having been originally a general, the curtain, that he would have had in the field, was supposed to be hung round the office in which he administered his government, and the term finally extended to the government itself. The use of the curtain still survives, though in a humbler way. It may be seen at any time round happy picnic parties when the cherry-trees or the azaleas are in flower.

Empire to whom the allegiance of every Japanese was alone due, and that the government of the Shōgunate was a usurpation, founded only on the power of the sword. The style of both, it may be stated, written as they were in the most classical Chinese, rendered them as unintelligible to the masses, who, however, did not count as political factors, as Milton's *Defence of the People of England* would have been to the common people of Great Britain in the days preceding the Restoration.

The revived doctrine was eagerly imbibed by the great territorial princes, who had long fretted under the domination of one who was of no higher origin than themselves and the political and social disabilities which were imposed on them. While the Shōgun was a man of strong character and great military capacity and was backed by a force that was immeasurably superior to any that could be placed in the field against him, might was right, and his power had to be accepted and bowed to. These conditions no longer existed when he was a mere *fainéant*, equally destitute of ability or energy. The superior military force was still at his command, but it lost its effect when there was no master mind to direct it, no general of supreme ability to handle it in the field, and the prestige of invincibility which the genius of Iyeyasu gave to the Tokugawa soldiers ceased to have any existence. Another doctrine which, though it fell into abeyance in the Early and Middle Ages, had its origin in the most remote period of antiquity, was that Japan, being the Land of the Gods, could only be worthily inhabited by people who were the children of the Gods. This doctrine entirely disappeared under the influence of Buddhism. It had no place at all in Iyemitsu's reasons for excluding foreigners which were entirely political—to guard against the danger of invasion following on a whole-

sale conversion of the people to Christianity. To foreigners as such, Iyemitsu had no more objection than his predecessors who ruled the Empire through preceding generations, and of the good-will of those predecessors we have already given numerous illustrations. But the new doctrine brought with it a very different spirit. The very touch of foreigners was regarded as pollution, their presence as desecration to the divine land, and they must be kept out at all hazards, at all cost. This was the spirit that permeated the whole nation from the Imperial Court down to the humblest Samurai in the service of the most insignificant Daimio. The Bakufu might also have acted on it, but that they knew they could not. Better informed than the Court and the local princes, they were fully conscious of Japan's military impotency, and when the foreigners came with their ships, their men, and their heavy guns, prepared to use them if their demands were not complied with, they knew that it was better to yield with grace, even though it was but temporarily, than suffer the humiliation of having to bow down to force.

The last Emperor we have mentioned in our story as an active political factor was Go Daigo, who reigned in the fourteenth century. Since then not one single occupant of the Imperial throne directly interfered in the affairs of the state. Some of them, while on the throne, never passed beyond the stage of boyhood, but those who did had been brought up in such a way that they were equally destitute in manhood of mental and physical energy, and could not, if they would, make their names a power to influence the Government. They were immured in their palaces, in the society of women and courtiers, little better informed than themselves, cut off from all the active intellects of their Empire, and at their palace doors they were watched and guarded by emissaries of the Shōgun, whose duty

it was to see that none had ever access to them on whose devotion to himself the Shōgun could not implicitly rely.

The Emperor on the throne at the time of Perry's arrival, and for the fourteen years that followed it, was Kōmei (1847–1867), the father of the present sovereign, the hundred and twentieth of the line, who ascended the throne in 1847 at the age of seventeen years. When Perry first appeared he was therefore twenty-three years of age, in the very prime of early manhood, and he neither then, nor afterwards, lapsed into the mental degeneration of so many of his predecessors. The revived national ideal of patriotism sank into his heart; he hated the Bakufu as the usurper who had reduced his Imperial prerogatives to a nullity; he hated still more the foreigners, whom he had never seen, of whom he knew nothing, who now threatened to pollute his divine country with their presence. Nominal though the Emperor's authority was, it had never ceased to exist in name, and now it was becoming something more than nominal. But even if it had still been as shadowy as in the worst periods of the Imperial impotency, the Emperor's sanction would have been required to legalize so great a constitutional reform as the opening of the country to foreign intercourse. The Shōgun's Government, in their distraction at the new complications which the advent of foreigners imposed upon them, ignored their constitutional obligation and signed the Treaties with Harris, with Lord Elgin, and with the other Powers, without going through the formality of asking the Emperor's consent in advance, and when what they had done became known at Kioto, the anger of the Emperor and the indignation of the Court were great. They were rendered still greater when it was disclosed that, in the Treaties with the foreigners, the Shōgun had described himself as Tai Kun,

Sovereign Lord, an altogether new title, hitherto unknown, which assumed the sovereignty that really only belonged to the Emperor. Still the Bakufu might have treated both with contemptuous disregard in their hearts, however outward their deference. An Emperor, without men or money, a poverty-stricken Court without experience, were negligible quantities, no matter how great their theoretical prestige. But now the great feudal Princes, Satsuma, Chōshiu, Kaga, Tosa and others were ranging themselves by the Emperor's side, and they had both men and money. Singly, they could do nothing against the Shōgun; united for a great cause, under a great rallying cry, they might, though it was not at all certain, be a match for all the might and wealth of the Bakufu and of the feudal Princes who were bound to the Tokugawa Shōguns by ties of blood and long alliance, who would still, no doubt, support its cause as they had done from the old time when Iyeyasu first threw down the gauntlet to the Leaguers of Osaka. Both the cause and the cry were now found: "Honour the Emperor and expel the Barbarians" were watchwords that were soon ringing through all the land to the west and south of Kioto. The north and east still remained firm in allegiance to the Shōgun, prepared to defend to the last the prerogatives that he had held and exercised in Yedo ever since the capital was built.

The position of the Shōgun's Government was distracting enough to have tried to the utmost the ability of the greatest statesmen. On the one side, they had foreigners demanding the rights to trade and reside in the Empire, and they knew they could not resist these demands. On the other, they had the legitimate sovereign and the most powerful feudatories demanding that the foreigners should be driven out by force and the old seclusion maintained unimpaired, the

Emperor himself proposing to lead the national army in person, as his ancestors had done sixteen hundred years before, in the holy war against the sacrilegious barbarians. And another complication arose to bewilder them all. All Samurai were in the service of some feudal lord who, while he was bound to maintain them and their families and could claim their lives in his service if he willed, was, at the same time, responsible for their conduct towards the state. It was the custom that Samurai, whose conduct either actually involved their lords in complications with the Government or with their peers, or threatened to do so, should disassociate themselves from their allegiance and become what was called *rōnin* (wave-men), vagabonds, who, though still gentlemen and retaining the privileges of their caste and their swords, were subject and owed lealty to no lord, for whose conduct therefore no lord could be held responsible. The clans as such were not yet prepared to go to the last resort of open warfare against the Shōgun, but large numbers of the retainers, craving to show their patriotism by deeds, now became *rōnin* and, spreading over all the country, sowed the seeds of disaffection and vented at once their hatred of the Shōgunate and of the barbarians by frequent murders of the newly arrived foreign residents, and by equally frequent assassinations of partisans of the Shōgunate among their own countrymen. The Government was at its wits' end. The foreign ministers, whose legations were in the capital, demanded the condign punishment of these murderers and the prevention of the recurrence of the outrages they committed. The Government could not always find the murderers, and no effective discipline could be imposed on the *rōnin*, who wandered everywhere, openly or in secret, but in either case could not without some act of violence be brought within the grasp of the law. Heaven added

its quota to the distractions and burthens of the bewildered Government. In 1855 an earthquake caused ruin through the Eastern Provinces, the personal domains of the Shōgun, and the death of over 104,000 persons. In 1858 a cholera epidemic spread through the land, and the deaths, again in Yedo alone, in less than one month, exceeded 30,000. When bewilderment and confusion were at their height, the Shōgun, Iyesada, suddenly died. He was childless, and the question of his heir was, before his death, a matter of acute policy, which was further accentuated by differences in regard to the opening of the country.

The Shōgun's Court was divided into two strongly antagonistic parties on both points. At the head of one party was Nariaki, the Prince of Mito, the descendant of the great Maecenas of the seventeenth century, a near relation of the Shōgun, a man of strong will and character, who had filled many great offices in the Government. The head of the other party was Ii Kamon no Kami, Prince of Hikone,[1] a descendant of one of Iyeyasu's most trusted generals. An office in the Court of the Shōgun, somewhat analogous to that

[1] The full name and titles of this nobleman may be mentioned as a specific illustration of Japanese nomenclature:—Hikone, Ii Naosuke, Kamon no Kami. Hikone was his territorial name taken from his fief in the province of Omi; Ii his family and Naosuke his own personal name. Kamon no Kami—Lord of the Grounds—was the name of the office he held at the Court of the Emperor. Just as with ourselves a great nobleman is proud to accept an office at the Court of the King, such as Lord Chamberlain or Master of the Horse, so were the greatest of the territorial nobles in Old Japan both proud to accept and eager to obtain even the most insignificant offices in the Court of the Emperor which invested the holders with a much higher dignity in the eyes of their countrymen than did the territorial titles even of the wealthiest and most powerful fief. Shimadzu, the Prince of Satsuma, and Mori, the Prince of Chōshiu, the two most powerful of all the feudatories, were in this way respectively Shuri no Kami and Daizen no Kami, Lords of the Carpenters and of the Kitchen. The office, once obtained, became hereditary and, as in the present instance, the actual holder was usually mentioned by its title, while his territorial title was borne by his eldest son in the father's lifetime.

of Kuambaku in the Court of the Emperor, with the exception that it was not invariably filled, and was only filled of necessity on occasions of national emergency, was that of Tairō—chief elder—virtually Prime Minister. This office was first conferred on Iyeyasu's general, and it had become almost hereditary in the Hikone family, which, an exception to the general rule of territorial princes, had seldom failed in having at the head of the house men of character and ability.

Ii Naosuke was a younger son of his father, brought up in the most frugal manner, without any expectation of ever succeeding to the property and title. The founder of the family left instructions for the guidance of his posterity that only the most moderate competency should be given out of the family estates to sons who were neither heirs in his own family, nor were adopted into others, nor attained high official rank, and the story of Naosuke and his brethren is a very curious illustration of family life in the nobility of that time. When the father died the eldest son naturally succeeded. He, having no children, adopted his own brother, next in years, as his son and heir. A third brother was adopted by the Prince of Hiuga, and so became heir to a principality of more than moderate wealth, and Naosuke alone was left to experience in his own person the full effects of his ancestor's directions. An allowance was assigned to him not more than sufficient to maintain the position of a squire of good degree, and on this he lived, from the age of twenty to thirty-five, on a humble estate in the family fief. Many, under such circumstances, in the consciousness of neglect and indifference on the part of those nearest to them, would have given way to the temptations of such pleasures as were within reach or to despair. Not so Naosuke. All his earliest years were devoted to earnest study, both of civil and military subjects, and the consequence was that, when he arrived

at the prime of manhood, he was exceptionally gifted in all the accomplishments and knowledge that became a Samurai of the highest type. In a moment, as it were, all his future was changed; the sudden death of one brother made Naosuke the heir of the family, and within a very short time afterwards, the death of the prince made the brave and accomplished Samurai who, a year before, had been working hard in the country and living on his slender means in the utmost frugality, the powerful and wealthy Prince of Hikone, the feudal head of a warlike and numerous clan, entitled by descent to a foremost place in the council of the Bakufu. This was just three years before Perry arrived. Both Nariaki and Naosuke were in Yedo when the question arose, during Iyesada's lifetime, of the choice of a successor. The form of the Shōgun's Government may be here described. The Shōgun himself nominally was at the head of all, but he had ceased to exercise any direct control, and the administration was left entirely in the hands of the state councils. First in authority was the "Go-rō-jiu," the elders—sometimes called the Goyō-beya, or chamber of public business—which was composed of five or six of the greatest of the Fudai Daimios, the descendants of the Daimios who adhered to Iyeyasu before the fall of the castle of Osaka, who were bound to the Tokugawas by strong ties of common interest and ancestral connection, who together formed the cabinet, and one of whom practically occupied the post of Prime Minister, though each member formally presided over the meetings in monthly rotation. Next in rank came the "Waka-Toshiyori"—the young elders—usually five in number, who were also Fudai Daimios, and formed a second cabinet. These two councils practically constituted the Government. Beneath them were a number of departments presided over by Bugiyō—commissioners or secretaries of state—dealing with finance, religion,

justice, military and such naval affairs as coast defence, the administration of the city of Yedō and the general business of a Government. The Princes of the three great houses, from which alone an heir to the Shōgunate could be chosen, had as such no corporate existence and no administrative functions to discharge outside their own dominions, but they were, if old enough, usually but not necessarily members of one or other of the great councils, but whoever the members were, they were invariably chiefs or members of clans whose devotion to the Tokugawa was ancestral and unquestionable. If not members of either council, the heads of the Go San Kei could, from their wealth, power and prestige, still exercise a considerable influence on the public policy, still more so when any one was a man of ability and strong will. In the heyday of the Tokugawa's might and influence, none of the other clans, great and powerful though they were, were consulted, and that compliment was paid to them for the first time in the general national distraction and in the division in the Shōgun's own councils that followed the arrival of Perry. Until then, the Shōgun's rule was absolute in its most complete sense, saving always the shadowy authority of the Emperor.

At Kioto, the Court of the Emperor, the Shōgun was represented by an officer called the Sho-Shi-Dai, whose duty it was to act as intermediary with the Emperor, to administer the Emperor's finances, for the provision of which he was almost entirely dependent on the Shōgun, and to safeguard the Shōgun's interests at Court. It is always to be remembered that, in view of the theoretical prerogatives of the Emperor, it was all-important to keep him under the influence of the Shōgun, to the exclusion of all the great territorial princes unconnected with him by family ties who, had they once succeeded in getting the Emperor into their possession, would from that fact alone have become the

constitutional governors, so long as their possession continued. As a safeguard against this, the Daimios were not permitted to have residences in Kioto, and the city was always garrisoned by clans on whose fidelity to the Tokugawas the most implicit reliance could be placed.

Between 1853 and 1857, Nariaki was a member of the Gorōjiu, being called into it on Perry's first arrival, but he threw up his office in the latter year, disgusted with what he considered to be degradation to the country, the Shōgun's weak submission to the demands of the foreigners. Harris had, by this time, arrived at Shimoda with credentials from his own Government to reside as their representative in Japan, and he demanded the right to proceed to Yedo and there present his credentials in person to the Shōgun. To this course Nariaki was bitterly opposed, so much so that he advised not only that the members of the Gorōjiu who supported it should be called upon to commit *hara-kiri*, but that Harris himself should be decapitated, and from the time of his resignation he entered into secret negotiations with the court at Kioto with the view of inducing the willing Emperor to assert his prerogative and forbid further concessions to the foreigners. After Nariaki resigned, Naosuke became the leading spirit of the Bakufu, and was appointed to the office of Tairō—Chief Minister. Simultaneously, the question of the succession which had long been pending was brought to the front, and as the Shōgun was in failing health, it was urgent that it should be settled without delay.

There were two candidates for the Shōgunate, Hitotsubashi,[1] Nariaki's own son, a young Prince, twenty years of age, who had already given signs of great ability,

[1] The son had previously been adopted into the Hitotsubashi family. His personal name was Yoshinobu, but he is sometimes spoken of as Keiki, the Sinico-Japanese reading of the characters which in pure Japanese are read as Yoshinobu.

and Iyemochi, the still younger Prince of Ki. Both were relations of the Shōgun, Iyemochi, however, in the nearer degree. Nariaki naturally supported the claims of his son; Naosuke, on the other hand, favoured Iyemochi and carried the day. Hardly had he done so, when Iyesada died (August 15th, 1858), and Naosuke was now chief minister in the Government of a boy only twelve years of age, and was therefore *de facto* ruler of the Empire. He used his power with vigour against his opponents. Nariaki was ordered to confine himself to his house, and the Daimios, who had now, in the difficulties in regard to the opening of the country, been for the first time consulted by the Bakufu, who were opposed to Naosuke's foreign policy, were also ordered to interfere no more in public affairs.

The sanction of the Emperor had been won to Perry's treaty, notwithstanding his hatred to foreigners. Nariaki had, however, great personal influence at Kioto. His wife was the daughter of one of the Imperial princes; his sons were married to daughters of nobles of the highest rank at the Emperor's Court, and his intrigues were successful in confirming the Emperor's antipathy to any extension of the concessions that had already been made to foreigners. His consent to any new treaties was firmly refused. Meanwhile, Harris was vigorously pressing for the signature of the new treaty, and the English and French fleets might any day arrive from China. Naosuke courageously took the responsibility on himself, and, knowing that it was hopeless to await the Imperial sanction, that meanwhile the Empire was threatened with pressing dangers, concluded the Treaty with Harris and a little later with the other Great Powers. On the 1st of July, 1859, all the new treaties came into force. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the first British Minister to Japan, took up his residence in Yedo along with American and French colleagues, while European

traders came in large numbers to Yokohama, the port which was assigned as the seat of foreign trade and residence.

The beginning of commercial intercourse was shadowed with the darkest clouds. The experience which the Japanese had acquired in their dealings with the subservient Dutch was an obstacle rather than the reverse to the successful conduct of business with traders who claimed the rights of equals; who were all competing with each other to gain the first advantages in an entirely new field; who were as ignorant of Japanese spirit and customs as the Japanese were of them; who, it must be confessed, were imbued with ideas of contemptuous superiority to Asiatics, the open manifestation of which filled a high-spirited people, which regarded itself as the very salt of the earth, with horror and indignation. Many of the new traders, an overwhelming majority of whom were British or American, were unscrupulous adventurers, ready to profit by the ignorance and inexperience of the Japanese; and opportunity made the better class, representatives of great firms of long standing and high reputation in China, yield to temptation in such a way as to leave little to choose between their conduct and that of the worst types of the former class. On the other side, the Japanese, forced to enter into trade relations in violation of all their national traditions; despising the foreigners, both from the facts that they were foreigners and that they were following what, in the Japanese ideal, was the most degrading of all occupations, that of trade, and dreading them at the same time, thinking that if they made trade both difficult and unprofitable, the foreigners might in the end quit the country in disgust, placed every impediment that their ingenuity could devise in the way of the smooth working of the Treaties or the Trade Regulations that were attached to them, and

systematically endeavoured to render both fruitless. And if some of the European traders who flocked to the new port were dishonest and unscrupulous adventurers, they soon found that they were out-Heroded in their worst qualities not by some, but by all the Japanese with whom they could deal. There were plenty of old and historic commercial houses in Japan with long and unblemished records of their upright dealing with their own countrymen, and if the principals or representatives of these houses had been encouraged, or had had the enterprise to adapt themselves to the new order of affairs and bring their wealth and sense of honour on to the new field that was open to them, many of the difficulties that beset the early days of commercial intercourse would never have occurred, and Japan might have been saved from the unsavoury reputation of commercial dishonesty which clings to it to this day. Unfortunately, all preferred to adhere to their long-established businesses and declined to enter upon unknown paths and speculative experiments. The result was that the native traders, who came to Yokohama, were the lowest of the low, equally dishonest and cunning, without either capital or reputation. "They were," Sir Rutherford Alcock said, with his long experience of the East,

"among the most dishonest and tricky of Easterners. The incessant examples of the most ingenious and deliberate fraud which they give leaves no doubt on the subject. Bales of silk are continually sold with outward hanks of one quality and the inner ones of coarser material, most craftily interwoven. Jars of camphor with the top only the genuine article and the rest powdered rice. Tubs of oil, the lower half water. Money taken for contracts immediately appropriated to their own use and unblushingly confiscated. They were pre-eminent in ingenuity and universality of cheating."

These men were the fathers and grandfathers of many who are now millionaires; who from the first have

absorbed the whole foreign trade of Japan and retained it to this day.

One incident in the story of the beginning of Japan's foreign trade is still often told to the alleged dishonour of the Europeans who profited by it. A provision in the Trade Regulations appended to the Treaty was that, to facilitate trade transactions, the Japanese authorities should change foreign bullion, weight for weight, for the native current coin. The ratio in the relative values of gold and silver in the world was then fifteen to one. In Japan, where gold was relatively far more abundant than silver, the ratio in the days of her seclusion was three to one, and this ratio still existed when the first foreign traders arrived in 1859. They were not slow to realize the wondrous opportunity that was before them. They could buy silver in abundance in China, distant only a week's steaming, change it into current silver coin in Japan, and with this coin buy one-third of its weight in gold. To give a concrete illustration, with silver that cost less than six shillings in China they could buy in Japan gold that could subsequently be sold in China for eighteen shillings. With a certain profit of 200 per cent. before their eyes on one transaction, with the possibility of repeating that transaction as often as they could find steamers to transport the bullion to and from China, is it any wonder that human nature gave way, and that the newly arrived European merchants devoted themselves not to the ordinary operations of commerce, but to those of traders in the precious metals? The Japanese saw their country was being rapidly denuded of the whole of its gold, and their local officials were daily besieged by crowds of foreigners, all bringing silver and demanding its immediate exchange for current coin. The local authorities tried to cause delay by insisting that signed applications for exchange should be made in writing. The demands still poured

in on them. Wholly incapable of satisfying these demands, they notified that they could only meet them *pro rata*, that only a certain percentage of each would be met. Immediately the demands rose to billions and trillions, signed by fictitious names—Tearem and Scratchem, John Snooks and a host of others equally insulting. It was not only merchants whom the mania seized. An American frigate came into port, the frigate that was specially sent by the United States to convey to California an embassy that the minister, Harris, had, with great difficulty, persuaded the Japanese to send to his Government to formally return Perry's visit. One officer immediately resigned his commission, chartered a ship and started a firm. The applications of the rest of the officers were, as coming from officers and not from the despised traders, treated with special favour by the Japanese authorities and honoured at once, and the result was that all the officers became as eager brokers in exchange as were the worst of the merchants on whom so much odium has been cast, whose legitimate province it was to profit by the chance that fortune had given to them. At last, driven almost to distraction, the Japanese took the only step that was open to them. The Treaties provided for the free and unrestrained export of gold, and the foreign Powers insisted on its observance in all its clauses. So the export could not be prevented by law, as might have been done in any country unhampered by conventions. Nothing was left but to alter the domestic ratio in the values of gold and silver and risk the consequences of the sudden derangement in domestic finance and economy. The step was taken and the export of gold stopped, but not before millions had been taken out of the country. The Japanese were left with the conviction that they had been spoiled, the national hatred of foreigners and commercial intercourse was intensified, and the best classes of their traders were confirmed in

their resolution that contact with the European robbers could only mean degradation and loss to themselves.

Foreign affairs were sufficiently difficult to tax the ability to the utmost of a Government secure in the confidence of a united people. But the Shōgun's Government had to face still greater difficulties in the united antagonism of a large and powerful section of their own people, incited by able leaders, and the disapproval of what they had done by the legitimate sovereign, to whom they owed both allegiance and theoretical obedience. The sanction of the Mikado to Perry's Treaty had been won with difficulty, but it had been won. He forced himself to recognize that it was unavoidable. He wholly disapproved of the new and extended treaties giving the right to foreigners to reside in the Empire, and he considered the signing of those treaties without his consent an outrage on his prerogative. When domestic broils were all at their worst, the only man capable of settling them by his personal influence and ability, the one who seeing the necessity of yielding to the foreigners' demands, had the courage to face the situation boldly despite alike of conservative Emperor and people, fell beneath assassins' hands. On the morning of the 24th of March, 1860, all the members of the Government were obliged to present themselves at the Shōgun's Court, the day being a festival of the Tokugawa family. Ii Naosuke, among others, left his mansion for the purpose. Spring has generally well opened in Japan by that date and begun to display all the natural beauties that are characteristic of the season, but on this day it happened that snow fell heavily and everything was buried in a deep white mantle. The usual escort of his vassals accompanied their lord's palanquin, but they were covered with raincoats which made their swords not easily available, and they were blinded by the snow which still continued to fall heavily. As they entered

the Sakurada gate of the castle, they were suddenly beset by twenty Samurai; many of the escort, encumbered and blinded, were cut down without being able to strike a blow in return, and when the rest recovered from their surprise, they found the headless corpse of their lord lying outside his palanquin.[1] The assassins were Mito Samurai, who had become *rōnin* and taken this means to avenge the humiliation imposed on their own lord, the disregard of the Mikado's prerogative, and the contamination of their country. Nariaki did not long survive his great enemy. He died within six months.

It would be impossible to describe in a work of this nature the details of the long political controversies that ensued between the advocates of foreign intercourse on the one side, and its opponents on the other, after Naosuke's death, nor need it be related how controversy developed into hostilities and civil war again occurred in Japan after an unbroken peace of 230 years, and we will confine ourselves to those incidents in which Europeans had a direct share. Murderous assaults had continued not only on individual Europeans, but twice the British Legation in Tokio was attacked at midnight by bands of fanatics with the object of murdering the minister and all his staff, and though the attacks were beaten off by combined English and Japanese guards, it was not without loss of life. In 1862 another murder occurred which was destined to have far-reaching consequences.

On a September afternoon a party, consisting of one

[1] At the time of his death, there was no one so universally hated in Japan by the Emperor, Court, and all the conservative princes and their retainers, for having yielded to the demands of Europeans to open the country; and by the lower classes for the losses they had suffered by the great increase of prices and the financial confusion that followed the alteration of the ratio of gold and silver values. In 1909 the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of Yokohama to foreign trade was celebrated with great ceremony and enthusiasm, and part of the celebration was the unveiling of a majestic statue of Ii Naosuke.

lady and three English merchants from Yokohama, started for a ride in the direction of Yedo, on the great high-road of Central Japan, which passes just outside of Yokohama. During their ride they met with the procession, composed of fully 800 armed Samurai, of the Chief Dignitary of the Satsuma fief, who had just left the capital on his return journey to his own province. Japanese customs required that the road should be cleared before this procession, and that all travellers should make way for it. The foreigners drew up their horses to one side of the road, not, however, dismounting, as a Japanese would have been required to do, and waited quietly till the procession passed. "Suddenly a man in the centre of the procession threw the upper part of his clothes off his shoulders, leaving himself naked to the waist, and drawing his sword, which he swung with both hands, rushed upon the little party of unarmed foreigners;" others of the procession joined him, and though the foreigners took to instant flight, one fell dead on the roadside from terrible wounds. The two other male members of the party were also severely wounded, while the lady, though her hat was cut away by a sword aimed at her head, escaped uninjured. It must be stated that the Japanese, in their ignorance of foreign dress, in the absence of any idea that a woman would be found on horseback (Japanese ladies do not ride even at the present day), had no idea of the lady's sex when she was assaulted in common with her companions.

Reparation was at once demanded by the British Government for this outrage; the usual apology and indemnity and the punishment of the murderers. The indemnity was paid and the apology given, but the Shōgun's Government professed their utter inability to enforce the final condition on the most powerful clan in the Empire, the territories of which were far remote from their own sphere of active influence, equally inaccessible

by land or sea. They endeavoured to induce the Lord of Satsuma to give up the murderer, but he replied, as haughtily as his ancestor had done to Hideyoshi, "The English insulted me, and for so doing were simply punished by my escort. But if the English desire to get hold of me, let it be decided by an appeal to arms." Great Britain accepted the challenge, and determined to undertake the task herself. A fleet of seven ships of war accordingly sailed for Kagoshima, the capital town of the fief, and on the 13th of August, 1863, the forts by which it was protected were bombarded, the batteries cleared, the magazines and arsenals and a great part of the town destroyed, not without considerable loss on the part of the assailants. In the evening a heavy gale sprung up, and the British ships withdrew, some of the forts still firing as they did so. The object of the expedition was not attained, and to this day the Japanese, notwithstanding the heavy loss they suffered, both in life and in the destruction of property, claim as the result of the action a victory over the British fleet.

The two most powerful clans in the Empire were those of Satsuma and Chōshiu. Both were equally opposed to foreign intercourse, and both were equally among the leaders of the national revolutionary movement against the Shōgun. One principle was easily made ancillary to the other. Outrages on foreigners complicated the Shōgun's relations with the foreign representatives at the capital, and gave the latter the right to demand reparation which the Shōgun could not refuse, but the grant of which seemed to lower his prestige still further in the eyes of his countrymen. The Satsuma clan had, in this case, brought a heavy penalty on themselves, but it taught them a valuable lesson—that the project of ever being able to expel foreigners by force was hopeless, unless a great change took place in the material resources of Japan, unless Japan acquired a full knowledge of the

foreign military methods and weapons which were so much superior to her own. A similar lesson with similar results was soon afterwards given to Chōshiu. In the case of Satsuma, Great Britain was the only injured party, and the lesson was therefore given by her alone. In that of Chōshiu, Great Britain played the chief part, but she had the moral and physical co-operation of France, Holland and the United States.

The Imperial Court of Kioto, throughout the whole of the years 1862 and 1863, had been strongly urging the duty of expelling foreigners both on the unwilling members of the Shōgun's Government and on the sympathetic feudal princes. Edict followed on edict in rapid succession from the Court, all in the same strain, "Expel the despised foreigner, and purify the Land of the Gods," and, finally, one appeared specifically fixing the 25th of June, 1863, as the date on which active measures should be initiated for carrying out the Emperor's wishes. This edict was communicated to all the princes, among others to the Prince of Chōshiu. The Straits of Shimonoseki constitute the western entrance to the Inland Sea, and the Chōshiu territories lay along their entire northern shore. The Mikado's edict was cordially received by the Prince as a command that was not to be disobeyed, and on the very day named in it an opportunity was given to him of putting it in practice. An American merchant steamer passed through the Straits, and was fired upon by the batteries, but she escaped without injury. A few days later a French gunboat and a Dutch corvette were also fired upon, in both cases suffering some loss. The insult to the American and French flags was promptly revenged by ships of war, which proceeded to the spot and shelled the batteries, and the Dutch corvette at the time gave back as much as she got; but the batteries remained effective, and the feudatory determined to use them whenever occasion

arose. The passage of the Straits, and consequently of the whole Inland Sea, the high sea-road from Yokohama to Shanghai, thus remained closed to all foreign merchant ships trading between the two places. These ships were at that time almost exclusively English, and English interests were therefore most materially affected by the closing of the Straits.

All the four Powers joined with absolute unanimity in pressing on the recognized Government, that of the Shōgunate, the only one with which they were in communication, its duty of at once reducing the truculent Prince to submission. But, as in the case of the Satsuma clan a year previously, the Government was powerless. It could only remonstrate, and its remonstrances were treated with absolute contempt, even the envoy who carried them to the clan being ruthlessly put to death. It had no fleet and no transports. After more than a year of fruitless diplomatic negotiations, the Powers determined, as England alone had done in the case of Satsuma, to take the matter into their own hands. A combined fleet, in which the British ships enormously preponderated, was sent to the spot, and on the 5th of September, 1864, all the forts were bombarded, and their total demolition completed on the following day by a large force which was landed. Both at Kagoshima and Shimonoseki, the Japanese gunners, though exposed to the concentrated fire of artillery far heavier than their own, and suffering severe losses, stood to their guns manfully, and time after time, when their batteries were cleared, resumed their stations and reopened fire. The allied landing force at Shimonoseki also met with a severe resistance, and suffered considerable loss.

The result of the operations was that the Prince was at last reduced to unconditional submission, not to his own *de facto* Government, against which he continued hostilities till its fall, four years later, but to foreign

Powers. He promised not only that the navigation of the Straits should be henceforth free, but that ships should be allowed to coal and purchase provisions; that the dismantled forts should not be repaired nor rearmed, and that no new ones should be built.

The objects of the Powers were accomplished, and had the matter terminated at this stage, not a vestige of a stain would have been left behind. But, in addition to his other undertakings, the Prince also promised that he would pay both a ransom for his town, which had been spared in the bombardment, and the expenses of the expedition. For reasons which it is now difficult to fathom, this obligation was transferred by the diplomatic representatives of the Powers to the Shōgun's Government, which was called upon, when distracted by internal difficulties, with a depleted treasury, to pay an indemnity of three million dollars (£650,000), a very large sum for the Japan of those days. Time was given for the payment, the last instalment, indeed, was only finally paid by the Emperor's Government in 1875, long after that of the Shōgun had ceased to exist, and the Chōshiu fief had lost all its independence and been merged in the Empire; but this indulgence continued until the final payment to be used as a thumb-screw for extorting diplomatic concessions from the Government of Japan, both that of the Shōgun and of the Emperor. The position of the United States Government in the matter was somewhat different to that of other Powers. The indemnity was apportioned equally among the four. The bombardment took place while the American Civil War was still in progress, and the *Alabama* on the high seas. The United States fleet had therefore other occupations in abundance than that of vindicating the rights of the flag against a small section of an insignificant and little-known people in the Far East, and at Shimonoseki it was only represented by a chartered merchant steamer

manned by a score of blue-jackets. America therefore incurred no expense in the expedition, while that incurred by the three other Powers, England above all, was considerable, but not even in the case of England amounting to her share in the indemnity. The United States had therefore more reason than the others for the tardy awakening of conscience which she displayed years later, when she returned her entire share in the indemnity.

The spirit of the Court at this period may be estimated from the fact that the Emperor gave his highest praise to both Satsuma and Chōshiu for their heroic conduct.

In September 1866 the Shōgun whose succession had been the cause of the bitter quarrel between Nariaki and Naosuke, died, and Hitotsubashi, who had been discarded in 1857, was chosen to succeed him. Within six months, the Emperor Kōmei, the inveterate opponent to foreign intercourse, also died (February 3, 1867), and was succeeded by his son, the present Emperor, Mutsuhito, then a boy of fifteen years of age. The agitation against the Shōgunate continued, still accompanied by the old cry, "Expel the foreigners,"[1] and as it was now fully realized that a nation divided against itself, under two conflicting Governments, could not hope either to attain this object or protect itself against outward aggression on the part of foes incomparably better armed and organized than the Japanese, the movement for the return to the ancient system of government by the Emperor grew in strength and influence. Memorials were addressed to the Shōgun by several of the greatest Daimios, urging him, as the only means to attain that end, to resign his office, and feeling the helplessness of his position, unable either to coerce the Daimios who

[1] The terms that were used to describe Europeans, even in Court notifications, before Kōmei's death were "the ugly" or "the red-haired barbarians."

were plotting for his fall, or to carry out the engagements he had made with foreign Powers, he at last accepted the advice that was given to him, and in November, 1867, he formally handed over to the Emperor the administration of the Government which he had held for only a few months with constant heart-burnings and vexations. Thus came to an end on one day not only the Tokugawa Shōgunate, which had lasted in regal splendour and despotic power for 260 years, but the dual system of government, which was first established by Yoritomo in the twelfth century, and the Emperor was once more vested with the control of the Empire that theoretically belonged to him ever since its foundation.

For a while it seemed that the final step in the great revolution would be peacefully accomplished, and that the chief of the Tokugawas, having bowed to the times and yielded to the superior forces which were arrayed against him, his adherents would accept and be guided by his decision, and in their patriotism submit to the loss of their old privileges, and recognize the new Government. But this was not to be. Kioto, at the time of the Shōgun's resignation, was guarded by the Aidzu clan, one of the most devoted to the Tokugawa. They were ordered to give up their charge to the allied Samurai of Satsuma, Chōshiu, Tosa, and other great clans, who were waiting within a little distance of Kioto, and when they had done so, when the allied clans became the guardians of the Emperor and were responsible for the safety of the "Sacred Person," they, as such guardians, became the legal Government according to the ancient Constitution. They were "Kwangun," the Imperial and loyal army. Along with the Shōgun, the Aidzu clan retired to Osaka, burning with indignation and resentment, and there all the adherents of the Tokugawas soon gathered; all bitter

at the downfall of the ancient house from its old grandeur and power; all still confident in their old prestige and skill at arms; all determined not to give up for ever the power they had so long held without one final struggle. Satsuma had been the prime instigator of the movement which had brought about their fall, and there was a Satsuma Yashiki [1] in Osaka. It was taken and burnt, and the defenders, a mere handful, all killed by the angry Tokugawas, and then their whole force, of more than 30,000 [2] fighting men, marched on Kioto to attack the Satsuma army that was in the capital. By thus attacking the guardians of the Emperor, they became Chōteki, rebels who were lifting sacrilegious hands against the Emperor himself. They could have crushed Satsuma had Satsuma been their only enemy, but the Satsuma clansmen were not alone. Chōshiu and other clans were at their side, and they met, with all their combined force, the advancing Tokugawas at Fushimi, seven miles outside Kioto. In the Gem-Pei War, the Taira, enervated by ease and luxury at Kioto, were invariably beaten by the hardy warriors from the Eastern Provinces, trained in the roughest schools of hardship and self-denial. Now the conditions were reversed. It was the Easterners who had degenerated in the ease and luxury of Yedo, while the Southern clans, accustomed to rural life, were possessed of greater physical strength, vigour and endurance. The battle which took place lasted for three days, and as it was bitterly fought, the loss on both sides was heavy. Once more treachery played its part, as it had done at Dan no Ura and Seki ga hara. The Samurai of the Tsu clan, a powerful clan from the province of Ise, whose chief,

[1] "Yashiki"—spread house—was the common term for the urban residence of a Daimio. It included both his own palace, the apartments of his officials, and the barracks of his armed retainers.

[2] This is the number given in Japanese histories, but Europeans, who were on the spot at the time, say that it is greatly exaggerated.

Todo, was descended from one of Iyeyasu's greatest allies, who was rewarded by Iyeyasu with territorial grants according to his merits, were trusted implicitly by the Tokugawas and were posted on their left flank, the maintenance of that position being entirely left to them. On the night of the second day of the battle, they abandoned their post and passed over to the Emperor's side, leaving the whole of the left flank of the Tokugawas exposed. The latter knew nothing of the treachery, and when on the following morning they found their enemies pouring down on them from the quarter where they thought they were absolutely secure, panic seized them and they fled in headlong rout. Victors and vanquished entered Osaka almost together, and the Shōgun, who had there awaited the result of the battle, took refuge first on board a United States man-of-war and then on one of his own ships, and in her made his escape to his home in Yedo. The officers of the United States ship were ignorant of the personality of the guest they had entertained. His clansmen and all their allies, broken by their defeat, dispersed, and sought shelter wherever it could be found in the country. Their last act, as they fled from Osaka, was one worthy of the Communists of Paris. They set fire to the great palace within the castle walls where Hideyoshi had lived, and the whole of the most magnificent palace that had ever been erected in Japan, rich in the greatest treasures of art, was destroyed. The battle of Fushimi may be called the fifth decisive battle of Japan. The forces and the dead on both sides were incomparably less than in the previous great struggles, but the results were greater. The previous battles had, in each instance, only consolidated the authority and power of a usurper, and subjected the nation to the tyranny of a dictator whose sole claim was founded on might; who either in himself or his descendants could only hope to retain his power

so long as it was supported by the military strength that won it; whose dynasty could never win the united and loyal affection of the Empire; who could only rule by fear.

Fushimi revived the long dormant authority of the throne, and gave the first dawn of hope that the unity of the Empire might be accomplished and founded no longer on fear but on patriotic reverence for a legitimate sovereign, that it would enable Japan to present to the world the front of a people bound together in harmony by their loyalty to their Emperor.

The battle of Fushimi was fought from the 28th to the 30th of January, 1868. On the 1st of January in the same year, the ports of Kobe and Osaka were formally opened to foreigners and foreign trade under the provisions of the treaties. This opening had been long delayed, and had been a sore point with the Emperor Kōmei, and it was only by the persistence of the Foreign Representatives, headed by the British Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, a man of the most irresistible energy and overbearing strength of character, who had succeeded Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1864, that the Shōgun's Government, in its dying agonies, had been induced to carry out its obligations in this particular respect. The opening of the great historic commercial city in the immediate neighbourhood of the sacred capital, the home of the mysterious and divine Emperor, was regarded as so important an event, as well as a triumph of Western diplomacy over the haughtiest and most rigid Japanese conservatism, that all the Foreign diplomatic representatives left their Legations in Yedo, and with a large fleet came to Osaka to give its opening the *éclat* of their presence. All, with large staffs, were temporarily residing in Osaka when the flying Tokugawas entered it after the battle, with their conquerors fast on their heels. The Shōgun, before his flight, sent

hasty word to the Representatives that he could no longer be responsible for their safety, and they had all to make a somewhat undignified move to Kobe, and there find such accommodation as they could in the little fishing village which has since become the greatest seat of trade in all the Far East. The Shōgun's officials, who were in charge of the new local Government at Kobe, all followed their master's example and forsook their posts. The beaten and fugitive soldiers were wandering everywhere, and it was quite possible, even probable, that they would follow the example previously given them by the enemies of the Tokugawas and involve the young Government of the Emperor in new and serious complications by a general massacre of foreigners. One incident did occur, which at the moment seemed ominous, but the investigation which was made of all its incidents in subsequent cooler moments shows that it is not one over which Europeans can now feel pride. A detachment of Samurai of the Bizen clan escorting the Karō, the chief councillor of the Prince, passed Kobe on their way to Kioto to join the loyal party. A French marine broke the line of their procession, a gross insult in the eyes of a Japanese Samurai, and though an attempt was made to stop him, he persisted in passing through it. He received a lance-prick for his pains, and he and his comrades, one of whom was also slightly wounded, then ran away. The Japanese followed them with a desultory rifle fire which did no harm, but an extraordinary panic seems to have then seized the whole of the residents in the new Foreign settlement in the direction of which the fire went. Large forces were immediately landed from the great fleet of men-of-war of all Western nationalities that lay in the offing, and a pursuit started of the Japanese, who broke and fled to the near hills. The marines were retained on shore, and Kobe, in the first days of its history, became an

armed camp, guarded by the marines of every Western power.

Sir Harry Parkes was a man of the most undaunted courage, who had often been under fire in China, and the last to be influenced by panic or anything remotely approaching to it, but in this instance he thought that an example should be made to Japanese of the armed class—it will be remembered that many cowardly murders of Europeans had already taken place, some of which had gone unpunished—to teach them the consequences of assaults on Europeans, and the officer who gave the order to fire was, notwithstanding the great provocation he had received, in compliance with the demand of the Foreign Representatives for his condign punishment, condemned to death, by *hara-kiri,* the mode of death which the law of that time prescribed for a Samurai guilty of an offence which did not involve personal dishonour or degradation from his status. In one item, the incident strongly illustrated the change that in a few years had come over the spirit of the clans. Bizen was, as a clan, only less powerful than Satsuma. When the Shōgun's Government, whose authority at the time, though morally weakened, was still openly unquestioned, asked the Satsuma clan to surrender the murderer of Richardson,[1] the demand was met with a contemptuous refusal. Now, when the newly established Government of the Mikado, still in the infancy of its birth, with no prestige of military strength, demanded the surrender of the officer in this case, the clan gave him up without demur, though he was infinitely less guilty than the murderer of Richardson. In the Bizen case, it was not denied that the provocation was actually given which in that of Satsuma was only alleged and was always strongly denied by the English concerned

[1] The English merchant who met his death in the incident described on page 331.

in it. The lesson, if such was its intention, was not so speedy in its results as to prevent the occurrence of another outrage of a more serious character.

While the Foreign Representatives were still in the midst of their camp in Kobe, an Imperial envoy arrived from Kioto to announce to them that the Emperor had taken over the supreme control of all the affairs of the state, both internal and external, and this announcement, conveyed in writing under the young Emperor's own hand and seal, was promptly followed by a public notification, in which the Emperor informed all his subjects that he gave his consent to the Treaties made by the Shōgun. The long conservative antagonism of the Imperial Court to foreign intercourse had ended, and both the Emperor, his Court and his supporters among the territorial nobles were definitely committed to the new order of affairs. The garrison was then withdrawn from Kobe, and the Foreign Representatives returned to Osaka. There, further proof was soon given to them that a new order had arisen. They were invited to an audience with the Emperor, on whose features no European eye had ever rested, who had only been seen by the nearest attendants of his own Court among all his own subjects, in the sacred city, never trodden by a European foot since the days when the Dutch passed through it as virtual prisoners. Before the audience could be held the second tragedy occurred. A French boat's crew was fired on near Osaka and eleven of the crew killed. For the firing in this case, no provocation could be alleged, but the penalty enacted was heavy—a large indemnity, an apology from the Imperial Government, and the execution of the guilty men and their officers. Twenty were condemned to die, but when eleven—the number of the killed bluejackets—had paid the penalty by *hara-kiri*, the French officers who were present, sickened at the horrible sight, begged for mercy

for the rest, and it was granted. The men in this case belonged to the Tosa clan, one of the four that were the prime movers in the overthrow of the Shōgun and the restoration of the Emperor, and had therefore strong claims on the Imperial gratitude and clemency. The clan was exceptional in that the Prince actively controlled and directed its affairs. The canker that had eaten into the Imperial Court, and into the Courts of every dynasty of Shōguns that ever reigned, had also, in the 260 years of peace under the Tokugawas, penetrated into almost every feudal clan in the Empire. Just as the Emperors and the Shōguns became *fainéants*, leaving the executive entirely to their ministers, so did the feudal chiefs in their principalities, leaving all the management of their affairs and the direction of the policy of the clan entirely to the ablest and most active of their retainers, to their Karō, or councillor, or to the Yōnin, business men, retainers of a lower degree than the Karō. The Karō, holding hereditary offices, very often in their turn followed the example of their lords. The Yōnin, on the other hand, always attained their positions entirely by their ability and industry, and in many cases—in the majority, indeed—the Yōnin were the brains of the clan, and exercised all the real control over all its affairs.[1] The Prince of Tosa, unlike his compeers, took all the matters of his clan into his own charge, and the clan's share in the events that preceded the revolution was taken entirely under his direction.

When the restoration was accomplished and peace finally established, it is sad to tell that the able and vigorous Prince abandoned himself to debauchery and drink in Yedo, and died within a few years, describing

[1] The great statesmen of the Restoration and afterwards, with very few exceptions, Ito, Inouye, Okubo, Kido, etc., whose names are now household words, were Yōnin in the clans.

himself at the last as "the drunken old recluse of Tosa."

The 22nd of March was the day fixed on which the audience of the Diplomatic Representatives of the Treaty Powers of the West was to take place with the Emperor. It was interrupted by another tragedy. When the English Minister, attended by a large escort, was on his way to the palace in full state, two fanatics of the old school, maddened with fury at what they thought was the defilement of the divine sovereign and the desecration of the ancient city, suddenly burst with drawn swords on the procession as it turned the corner of one of the narrow streets. Sir Harry Parkes was guarded by his own mounted escort, men specially selected from the London police, who, well mounted, armed with lances and dressed in picturesque uniforms, resembling those of the Carbineers, made a gallant show. They were followed by a large detachment of the 9th Regiment of the Line, now the Norfolk regiment, which was then stationed in Yokohama.[1] The two Japanese ran down both sides of the long procession, slashing furiously with their terrible swords as they did so. Then one of them, a youth of seventeen years of age, was cut down and killed on the spot by two of the Japanese officers in attendance on Sir Harry Parkes as representatives of the Emperor, and the second fell wounded by a bayonet thrust. None of the European escort was killed, but ten were more or less severely wounded. The audience was postponed for a few days. More apologies and indemnities followed. The wounded would-be assassin was degraded from his

[1] In 1864, when the disorder was at its worst and civil war actually in progress, both British and the French troops were stationed at Yokohama to ensure the protection of the European residential quarters, which, it was believed, the Shōgun, in the midst of all his political difficulties, could not guarantee. The troops were not finally withdrawn till 1874.

status as a Samurai and executed, this time not by the honourable process of *hara-kiri*, but as a common criminal, by decapitation, followed by exposure of his head on the pillory.

The Shōgun, as already stated, fled to Yedo after the battle of Fushimi. There, there was soon a large gathering of his adherents, some refugees of the army beaten at Fushimi, some from other quarters, clansmen from the North, animated by traditional hatred of the Southerners, all not only ready but eager to try the ordeal of arms once more. His cause was not yet quite hopeless. He had greater military supplies than the loyal army; he had at least as many fighting men; he had his strong ancestral castle of Yedo, and from behind its lofty walls and wide and deep moats, he might have made as great a stand as Hideyori did, in 1616, in the castle of Osaka against the Shōgun's own ancestor, Iyeyasu. But he was weary of the struggle. All his own longings had from the first been for peace. The resort to arms that had already been made was against his wishes, and, that having been in vain, he was more than loath to put his fate once more to the fortune of arms. He ordered his adherents not to fight, and he formally surrendered his castle to the advance guard of the loyal troops who were now marching on Yedo and close on it. The great Eastern capital was then for the first time under the control of the Imperial Government at Kioto. The clansmen, who had remained faithful to the Shōgun to the last, were not so submissive as their lord. The majority retreated to the North, where, in their own native provinces, they maintained a stout resistance to the loyal army for another six months. Another party, taking possession of all the ships that the Shōgun owned, made their way to Hakodate and there held out till the summer of the following year, fighting as boldly on the sea, with as much skill and

reckless bravery, as their fellows had ever done on land, surrendering only when their ships, supplies and ammunition were all gone. One small body refusing even to abandon Yedo without a fight, took possession of the hills at Uyeno, the site of the beautiful mausoleums of some of the Tokugawa Shōguns, and there made their last stand. On the 4th of July, 1868, just as the summer day was dawning, they were attacked by an overwhelming force of the loyalists, and after a struggle, fought in a violent storm of rain and wind, that lasted through the greater part of the day, they were killed almost to the last man. The great temple, Toyeizan, built by Iyemitsu, when at the summit of his glory, in a degree of grandeur that was worthy of the wealth and dignity of the Tokugawas, that was second only to Nikko as a triumph of Japanese architecture, so splendidly endowed that it was always ruled by a Chief Priest of the Imperial family, took fire as the last remnant of the defenders made their final struggle in the shelter of its walls and pillars, and was burned to the ground. So high did the flames rise from it that, as night fell, they were clearly seen in Yokohama, full twenty miles distant. The Shōgun, when the surrender of his capital was decided on, was advised by one of his chief retainers to take the traditional refuge of a defeated lord in death by *hara-kiri*. He declined, and the retainer then, to show the sincerity of his advice, *more japonico*, committed *hara-kiri* himself. The Shōgun retired to his ancestral home at Shidzuoka, where he relapsed into the ordinary status of a private gentleman, interfering no more in the affairs of the state, where he has ever since lived in peaceful seclusion.[1]

Successful revolutions were in Old Japan almost invariably followed by the universal proscription of the

[1] He never even visited Tokio until he was compelled to do so to obtain medical attendance.

vanquished, by wholesale executions and confiscations, by the slaughter of all the adherents of the lost cause, men, women and children, without distinction of rank, without any regard to degrees of responsibility. Hideyoshi was the one exception that proved the general rule. The first sign that New Japan was born was given in the clemency that was extended to the beaten vassals and allies of the Tokugawas. There were no executions, no confiscations; not only was Yoshinobu spared and left with sufficient of his old family estates to provide for his future in a degree becoming to his rank, but every one, high or low, who had fought for him found the same mercy. No one was put to death except those who died in battle, sword in hand. There was no ruin, no sudden descent from wealth and dignity to poverty and obscurity. When the triumph of the Imperial cause was finally assured, all past enmity to it was forgiven and forgotten, and that this was so was entirely owing to the budding knowledge of the principles of Western civilization. Except by Hideyoshi, no defeated foe was ever before spared in Japanese history. Until the last struggle in the North there were no prisoners of war nor wounded in battle—all were ruthlessly slain. The first lesson in sparing the wounded in battle was given to the Japanese by an Irish doctor, the one and only European ever engaged on a Japanese battlefield till that time, who accompanied the Imperial forces in their final campaign in the North, and it was from him that the Japanese soldiers first acquired the elements of mercy which showed its best fruits in Manchuria in their last great war. The Imperial Government had its reward for its clemency. Many of those who fought for or served the Tokugawas in civil capacities, who, if Japanese tradition had been faithfully preserved, would have been either executed or would have died by their own hands on its downfall, were, within a decade after-

wards, among the ablest and most loyal of the Emperor's servants, military, naval and civil, and many have since held offices of the highest responsibility in the Government.

For more than a thousand years Kioto had been the capital of the Empire and the home of the Emperor. With the exception of the Ashikaga, all the Shōguns, who ruled while the Emperors slumbered in the monastic seclusion of their palaces, lived in the Eastern Provinces, first at Kamakura and in the later and last generations at Yedo, and the Eastern capital had come to be indissolubly associated in the minds of the whole nation with the direct and effective exercise of authority. Now that the Empire was to be consolidated under a central Government with the Emperor as its one and visible head, it was felt that the people would be more speedily familiarized with the new order of affairs if the Government was established in the quarter in which it had been so long administered, and that Kioto, associated as it was mainly with memories of the subjection of the legitimate sovereign's influence to that of successive dynasties of usurpers, should cease to be the capital of the Empire.

The Emperor and all his Court removed to Yedo; there his ministry was established, and it was decided that henceforth Yedo should be called Tokio—the Eastern Capital—and that it should be the capital and seat of government. A few months later the Daimios, the territorial princes who had ruled their fiefs for centuries as quasi-independent kingdoms, though always acknowledging the suzerainty of the Emperor, surrendered all their rights. With that step Feudalism died, and the unification of the Empire, in its fullest sense, became an accomplished fact, and with it also Old Japan came to an end, and our story therefore closes.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE EMPERORS OF JAPAN

THE present Emperor of Japan, according to the official list authenticated by the Government, is the one hundred and twenty-first sovereign in the direct line of descent from the first Emperor Jimmu. Of the whole number nine were Empresses, but two of these Empresses abdicated and subsequently reascended the throne, in the first instance under a different name, and in each case their two reigns are counted separately. On the other hand, the regency of the Empress Jingō, which lasted for sixty-eight years, is not reckoned as a separate reign, her husband, the Emperor Chiuai, having, by a fiction, been supposed to live until the accession, seventy years after his death, of his son, the Emperor Ōjin. When allowance is made for the double reigns of the two Empresses and the regency of the third, the total number of sovereigns becomes one hundred and twenty.

The names in the list are posthumous or canonical. Each Emperor had his individual Japanese name—that of Jimmu was Kamu-Yamato-Iware-Biko or Prince Divine-Yamato-Iware (Yamato is the province in which Jimmu established his capital and Iware the name of a locality in it)—but the Emperors were so sacred that their names were never pronounced in their lifetime, and it is only by their canonical names that they are known to history. Whenever an Emperor was mentioned during his life [1] it was always by the title Tennō, "Lord of Heaven," or Tenshi, "Son of Heaven," with the addition, in the ordinary vernacular of daily life,

[1] The first recorded instance of the use of the personal name of an Emperor in his lifetime is that of the present Emperor in 1868, when he signed the document in which he announced to the sovereigns of all the foreign nations that he would "henceforward exercise supreme authority both in the internal and external affairs of the country."

of the honorific word "Sama," a word that is equally applied, for politeness' sake, to the Emperor or to a commoner. In the case of the Emperor, "Tenshi Sama" would be translated "His Majesty the Emperor." In that of a commoner, "Sama" would simply mean "Mr.". The term Mikado, by which Europeans are accustomed to speak of the Emperor, means "Honourable Gate," involving the same idea as that which is contained in "Sublime Porte"; it is rarely used by his subjects. Other terms are:—Kōtei, the sovereign who rules over nations; Kinri, the forbidden interior; Dairi, the term almost invariably used by the Jesuits, the Imperial Palace; and Chōtei, the Hall of Audience.

In the following list, translations are appended to the majority of the names, and where there is none, the name is taken from a locality—Nijō, Rokujō and Shijō, for example, are the names of wards in Kioto; Tsuchi Mikado was that of a palace; Fushimi and Nara are well-known towns near Kioto. The prefix Go signifies the second of the same name (Go literally means "after"). Go Ichijō thus means Ichijō the Second. There is no instance of three sovereigns of the same name. The dates given as those of the beginning of each reign are those of the formal investiture of the new sovereign, which seldom took place till a year and sometimes not till a longer period after his predecessor's death. Slight discrepancies occasionally occur in the ages of the sovereigns at accession and at death or abdication and in the length of their reigns, but these are unavoidable owing to the different months in which the years began under the Chinese and the Julian or Gregorian calendars.

I. The Dark Ages

Fifteen—or, including the Regent Empress Jingō, sixteen—sovereigns reigned during this period, the average of whose ages at death exceeded 107 years. The explanation of this extraordinary longevity is, according to the late Mr. Bramsen, who made a most exhaustive investigation of Japanese Chronology, that the year was counted from Equinox to Equinox, thereby making two years of what we now call one. Even this explanation will not account for the age, 360 years, of the Empress Jingō's Minister, Takeuchi (page 44).

	Date of Accession.	Age at Accession.	Date of Death.	Age at Death.
	B.C.		B.C.	
1. Jimmu (Divine Valour)	660	52	585	127
2. Suizei (Tranquillity)	581	52	549	84
3. Annei (Peace)	548	20	511	57
4. Itoku (Admirable virtue)	510	44	477	77
5. Kōshō (Filial piety)	475	32	393	114
6. Kōan (Piety and peace)	392	35	291	137
7. Kōrei (Spirit of piety)	290	52	215	128
8. Kōgen (Origin of piety)	214	59	158	116
9. Kaikwa (Civilization)	158	55	98	115
10. Sūjin (Honour the Gods)	97	53	30	120
			A.D.	
11. Suinin (Dispense benevolence)	29	41	70	141
	A.D.			
12. Keikō (Great conduct)	71	84	130	143
13. Seimu (Perform duty)	131	49	190	108
14. Chūai (Middle grief)	192	44	200	52
Jingō (Merit of the Gods) (Empress Regent)	201	32	269	100
15. Ōjin (Meeting the Gods)	270	70	310	110

II. The Dawn of History

Seventeen Emperors and one Empress reigned during this period, which extends from 313, the date of the accession of the Emperor Nintoku, to 628, when the Empress Suiko died. The first in the line, it will be seen, like so many of his predecessors, died a centenarian, but (though the Kojiki records Yūriaku also as a centenarian) the average accepted age of his seventeen successors did not exceed the very human standard of sixty-three years. Mr. Bramsen's explanation of this decrease is that in the reign of Nintoku, the Chinese year, double the length of that from Equinox to Equinox, became known to the Japanese, through their intercourse with Korea, and that at the end of his reign it was formally adopted. One curious result, Mr. Bramsen suggests, would follow the adoption of his theory: Nintoku died 1059 years after the accession of Jimmu; if, however, the lengths of the reigns of Jimmu and his sixteen successors are to be reduced by one half, the foundation of the Empire took place at a considerably later date than 660 B.C.

	Date of Accession.	Age at Accession.	Date of Death.	Age at Death.
16. Nintoku (Benevolence and virtue)	313	34	399	120
17. Rikiu (Treading in the middle)	400	70	406	76
18. Hanzei (Facing right)	406	56	410	60
19. Ingyō (Sincerely courteous)	412	39	453	80
20. Ankō (Peace)	453	53	456	56
21. Yūriaku (Grand counsel)	457	40	479	62
22. Seinei (Pure and truthful)	480	38	484	42
23. Kenzō (Illustrious Ancestry)	485	36	487	38
24. Ninken (Benevolence and talent)	488	41	498	51
25. Muretsu (Martial ardour)	499	50	506	57
26. Keidai (Succeed body)	507	57	531	81
27. Ankan (Peaceful space)	534	69	535	70
28. Senkwa (Spread civilization)	536	70	539	73
29. Kimmei (Reverence)	539	31	571	63
30. Bidatsu (Cleverness)	572	35	585	48
31. Yōmei (Employ enlightenment)	585	67	587	69
32. Sujun (Venerable and lofty)	588	69	592	73
33. Suiko (Reasoning from antiquity) (Empress)	593	40	628	75

III. From the Establishment of Buddhism to the Close of the Nara Period

As the national annals were regularly kept during this period its history may be regarded as authentic. There were in all seventeen reigns, but only fifteen sovereigns, two Empresses who abdicated having been re-enthroned on the deaths of their successors during their lifetime. It will be noticed that an unusual interval elapsed between the death of the Empress Saimei and the accession of her son as successor. No reason is given in the Nihongi for the delay. A shorter but still a substantial interval elapsed between the death of Temmu and the accession of his widow. The latter governed very vigorously during the interval, but it was only in the year 690 that the "Divine tokens" (the Imperial regalia) were delivered to her. "Then she assumed the Imperial dignity, and the ministers and public functionaries, ranged in order, made obeisance in rotation and clapped their hands."

	Date of Accession.	Age at Accession.	Date of Death.	Age at Death.
34. Jomei (Extend enlightenment) . .	629	37	641	49
35. Kōkyoku (Royal perfection) (Empress)	642	49	—	—
36. Kōtoku (Piety and virtue). . . .	645	50	654	59
37. Saimei (Uniform bright) (Re-enthronement of Kōkyoku under a new name)	655	62	661	68
38. Tenchi (Heavenly intelligence) . .	668	55	671	58
39. Kōbun (Pious hearing).	672	25	672	25
40. Temmu (Heavenly valour) . . .	673	52	686	65
41. Jitō (Supreme control) (Empress) .	690	46	702	58
42. Mommu (Civil and military) . . .	697	15	707	25
43. Gemmyō (Original enlightenment) (Empress)	708	48	721	61
44. Genshō (Original righteousness) (Empress)	715	36	748	69
45. Shōmu (Saintly valour)	724	24	756	56
46. Kōken (Modesty) (Empress) . . .	749	32	—	—
47. Junin (Magnanimous benevolence) .	759	27	765	33
48. Kōken (re-enthroned)	765	48	770	53
49. Kōnin (Brilliant benevolence) . .	770	62	781	73
50. Kwammu (Magnificent valour) . .	782	46	806	70

IV. The Heian Period

The practice of abdication began during the previous period, but it was in this, which extends from the foundation of the capital at Kioto to the beginning of the military domination of the Taira, that it was first made compulsory under the tyranny of the Fujiwara (*vide* page 76). A fifth line has been added to our dates giving the ages at which the Emperors abdicated, either voluntarily or under compulsion. This line is blank in cases in which the Emperors died while still on the throne. (*Vide* table on next page.)

	Date of Accession.	Age at Accession.	Age at Deposition or Abdication.	Date of Death.	Age at Death.
51. Heijō	806	33	36	824	51
52. Saga	810	25	38	842	57
53. Junwa (Magnanimous peace)	824	39	49	840	55
54. Nimmyō (Benevolent enlightenment)	834	25	—	850	41
55. Montoku (Civil virtue)	851	25	—	858	32
56. Seiwa (Peace)	859	10	28	880	31
57. Yōzei (Positive-accomplish)	877	10	18	949	82
58. Kōkō (Brilliant piety)	885	56	—	887	58
59. Uda	888	22	29	931	65
60. Daigo	898	14	—	930	46
61. Shujaku	931	15	—	946	30
62. Muragami	947	22	—	967	42
63. Reizei	968	18	20	1011	62
64. Enyū (Whole softening)	970	12	26	991	33
65. Kwazan (Flowery mountain)	985	17	19	1008	41
66. Ichijō	987	8	—	1011	32
67. Sanjō	1012	38	—	1017	43
68. Go Ichijō	1017	10	—	1036	29
69. Go Shujaku	1037	28	—	1046	37
70. Go Reizei	1047	23	—	1068	44
71. Go Sanjō	1069	37	—	1072	40
72. Shirakawa	1073	21	34	1129	77
73. Horikawa	1087	9	—	1107	29
74. Toba	1108	6	22	1156	54
75. Sutoku (Reverend virtue)	1124	6	23	1164	46
76. Konoye (Life-guards)	1142	4	—	1155	17

V. The Gem-Pei Wars

This period, which may be called the beginning of the middle ages of Japan, covers that of the rise and fall of the Taira family. The Court intrigue which was the beginning of the war is described at page 90. The last three Emperors in the preceding list are: Toba, who acceded to the throne at the age of six and abdicated at the age of twenty-two; his son Sutoku, who was six years old at his accession and abdicated at the age of twenty-three; and Konoye, brother of Sutoku, who succeeded at the age of four and died, while still on the throne, at the age of seventeen. The succession

was then disputed, but by the aid of Kiyomori, Go Shirakawa, also a brother of Sutoku, was placed on the throne, and Sutoku and his son were banished to the province of Sanuki. Go Shirakawa in his turn was soon deposed and banished by Kiyomori, and of his two successors, both boys, one died and one was deposed. A third boy, the son of Go Shirakawa and nephew by marriage of Kiyomori, was then placed on the throne, and afterwards married to Kiyomori's daughter. When a son was born to this marriage the Emperor was deposed, and the son, Antoku, Kiyomori's grandson, placed on the throne. He was drowned at the battle of Dan no Ura.

	Date of Accession.	Age at Accession.	Age at Deposition or Abdication.	Date of Death.	Age at Death.
77. Go Shirakawa. . . .	1156	30	32	1192	66
78. Nijō.	1159	17	—	1165	23
79. Rokujō	1166	3	8	1176	13
80. Takakura	1169	9	20	1180	21
81. Antoku (Tranquil virtue)	1180	3	—	1185	8

VI. The Minamoto Period

This period covers the Shōgunate of Yoritomo and his two sons. The "Cloistered Emperor" (*vide* page 75), Go Shirakawa, was still alive at its beginning, and though he had been deposed by Kiyomori in the year 1158, he had since, during the reigns of his four boy successors, continued in their names to discharge all the functions which could only be legalized by the Emperor's name and authority. When the Taira fled from Kioto they carried with them the boy Emperor Antoku, and so long as he retained the throne and continued in the possession of the Taira, the latter were the loyal party and the Minamoto rebels. Yoritomo was, however, not the man to let a quibble of this kind stand in his way. The Cloistered Emperor was forced to declare the throne vacated by the flight of the Emperor and to select a new nominee for it. Takakura had two other sons besides Antoku, both of whom were left by the Taira in Kioto, an oversight which they afterwards bitterly regretted. The

Cloistered Emperor decided to select one of these for the throne, and resorted to divination to decide which it should be. The lot fell on the elder, but as the Cloistered Emperor was urged by his favourite mistress to nominate the younger, he tried divination again, and this time it was in favour of the younger, so he became the Emperor Go Toba. This was in the year 1183, but the reign only dates from the formal investiture with the regalia in 1186 after they had been recovered at the battle of Dan no Ura. Six years afterwards Go Shirakawa died and his obsequies were celebrated by Yoritomo, then at the summit of his glory, with great splendour. Among other things, he provided gratuitous baths for the whole population of Kioto for one hundred days. All the Emperors of this period were, it will be seen, boys who abdicated or were deposed on the approach of or in early manhood. Go Toba abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Tsuchi Mikado; then he made the latter resign in favour of the youngest Juntoku, he himself retaining all the time the real exercise of the Imperial functions, and later forced Juntoku to abdicate in favour of his son. Go Toba was a strong exception to the general run of sovereigns, showing himself a very vigorous and ambitious intriguer, who keenly resented the domination of the Minamoto and was anxious to see the Imperial prerogatives restored to their fullest extent.

	Date of Accession.	Age at Accession.	Age at Deposition or Abdication.	Date of Death.	Age at Death.
82. Go Toba	1186	7	20	1239	60
83. Tsuchi Mikado . . .	1199	5	17	1231	37
84. Juntoku (Meek virtue) .	1211	15	26	1242	46
85. Chūkiyō (Middle respect)	1222	5	5	1234	17

VII. The Hōjō Period

The last three reigns are included in the Minamoto period, but the Hōjō influence commenced at the death of Yoritomo, and the history of the three reigns was that of the struggle for the mastery between them and the ex-emperor Go Toba. In 1222, the triumph of the Hōjō was

complete and the power of the Imperial Court and its supporters entirely broken. The Hōjō regent promptly signalized his triumph by deposing the boy Emperor Chūkiyō and setting up in his stead Go Horikawa, the son of a younger son of Takakura. All the ex-emperors were banished, Go Toba to the island of Oki, Juntoku to Sado, and Tsuchi Mikado to the province of Awa, where they passed the rest of their lives in miserable poverty. Go Horikawa voluntarily abdicated in favour of his eldest son Shijō, who died while still on the throne. Then Go Saga, a son of the exiled Tsuchi Mikado, was enthroned by the Hōjō. He abdicated, and was succeeded while still alive by his two sons, Fukakusa and Kameyama; the latter was succeeded by his eldest son Go Uda, and he by Fukakusa's son Fushimi. He was followed by his son, Go Fushimi, and he by Go Nijō, a son of Go Uda. When the latter ascended the throne there were five ex-emperors still alive, all, except the last, men of mature years, all of whom had been deposed and their successors in every instance selected at their arbitrary will by the Hōjō regents.

Go Nijō died while still on the throne. Then Hanazono, a younger brother of Go Fushimi, was crowned in defiance of the will of the Imperial Court, where it was desired that the succession should be given to a son of Go Nijō. Hanazono in his turn was deposed in favour of Go Daigo, the second son of Go Uda, and the last Emperor of the Hōjō period. His story is told in Chapter VIII.

	Date of Accession.	Age at Accession.	Age at Deposition or Abdication.	Date of Death.	Age at Death.
86. Go Horikawa	1222	10	20	1234	22
87. Shijō	1232	3	—	1242	12
88. Go Saga	1242	23	27	1272	53
89. Fukakusa	1247	5	17	1304	62
90. Kameyama	1259	11	26	1305	57
91. Go Uda	1274	8	21	1324	58
92. Fushimi	1288	24	34	1317	53
93. Go Fushimi	1298	11	14	1336	49
94. Go Nijō	1302	19	—	1307	24
95. Hanazono (Flower garden)	1308	12	22	1348	52
96. Go Daigo	1318	31	—	1339	52

VIII. The Ashikaga Period

Go Daigo's reign lasted for the first few years of this period, but he and his three successors were all in exile, while the False Emperors (*vide* pages 156–157) reigned at Kioto. The names and reigns of the False Emperors, who are not historically recognized as having reigned, were—

Kōgon . . .	1333–1336
Kōmyō . . .	1336–1349
Shinko . . .	1349–1352
Go Kōgon . . .	1352–1372
Go Enyu . . .	1372–1383
Go Komatsu. . .	1383–1393

In 1393, Go Komatsu was acknowledged as the legitimate Emperor, and his official reign commences in that year. Of him and his successors, there is nothing to tell. They were allowed to reign, but amid all the contending factions who disputed and fought at their capital, they were mere nonentities. It was in the reign of the last Emperor in the list that Nobunaga and Hideyoshi rose to power, and the interregnum of the Shōguns began.

	Date of Accession.	Age at Accession.	Age at Deposition or Abdication.	Date of Death.	Age at Death.
97. Go Murakami . . .	1339	12	—	1368	41
98. Go Kameyama . . .	1368	22	46	1424	78
99. Go Komatsu	1393	17	37	1433	57
100. Shōkō (Admiring enlightenment) . . .	1414	14	—	1428	28
101. Go Hanazono . . .	1429	11	46	1470	52
102. Go Tsuchi Mikado . .	1465	24	—	1500	59
103. Go Kashiwara . . .	1501	38	—	1526	63
104. Go Nara	1527	32	—	1557	62
105. Ojimachi	1558	40	68	1593	75

IX. The Tokugawa Period

The first Emperor in this list reigned through nearly the whole of Hideyoshi's domination, but the only exercise he made of his authority was his refusal of the title of Shōgun

to Hideyoshi. The remainder all lived in peaceful splendour at Kioto under the protection of the Tokugawas, and there is no record of their interference in the affairs of State until the indignation of the Emperor Kōmei was stirred by the admission of Europeans to reside and trade in Japan. In 1868, the present Emperor resumed the full prerogatives of the throne, which had not been exercised by his ancestors for more than a thousand years.

	Date of Accession.	Age at Accession.	Age at Deposition or Abdication.	Date of Death.	Age at Death.
106. Go Yōzei	1587	17	42	1617	47
107. Go Mizuo	1612	17	34	1680	85
108. Myōshō (manifest righteousness) (Empress)	1630	8	22	1696	74
109. Go Kōmyō	1644	12	—	1654	22
110. Go Nishio	1654	18	27	1685	49
111. Reigen (Marvellous originality)	1663	10	34	1732	79
112. Higashiyama	1687	13	—	1709	35
113. Naka Mikado	1710	12	—	1735	37
114. Sakuramachi	1736	17	27	1750	31
115. Momozono	1747	7	—	1762	22
116. Go Sakuramachi (Empress)	1763	24	32	1813	74
117. Go-Momozono	1771	14	—	1779	22
118. Kōkaku (Enlightened standing)	1780	10	47	1840	70
119. Ninkō (Benevolent piety)	1817	18	—	1846	47
120. Kōmei (Pious enlightenment)	1847	17	—	1867	37
121. Mutsuhito (Reigning Emperor)	1867	15	—	—	—

The Kugés

The Kugés, the nobles of the Imperial Court, have been referred to at page 83. Throughout all history until the accession of the present Emperor they formed a class by themselves, entirely distinct from, and in rank and lineage far above, the territorial nobles, only a few of whom (among

whom the Tokugawas were included) could claim a share in their descent from the Emperors. After the Restoration in 1868 they were formed into one class with the Daimios, under the title of Kwazoku or Peers. There were then one hundred and thirty-seven families of Kugés, of whom no less than ninety-five claim to be of the Fujiwara blood and descended therefore from the God, Ama tsu Koyane, who accompanied Ninigi in his descent to earth from Heaven. In the time of Tokiyori (1246–1256)—the fifth of the Hōjō regents—the Fujiwara had increased so largely that they were divided into five branch families, to whom were given the family names or titles of Konoye, Ichijō, Kujō, Nijō, and Takatsukasa, the first three, names that had been previously held by Emperors, and these were called the Go Sekkei, or five regent families, from among whom a Court regent could be selected during the minority of an Emperor, to act for him in all matters in which the Imperial interference was necessary. When the modern peerage was created in 1884, the highest rank, that of Prince or Duke, was conferred on the heads of these five families. They are still regarded as the noblest in the Empire, both on account of their ancient lineage and their long history, as well as from their present position, and the Empresses have been frequently chosen from their daughters, the present Empress being a daughter of Prince Ichijō, and the Crown Princess a daughter of Prince Kujō.

The remaining families of the Kugés of Fujiwara descent have been gradually founded by younger sons of one of these branches, just as the families who are not of Fujiwara blood, such as the Sugiwara and Kiowara, were founded by the younger sons of reigning Emperors. Throughout the long State impotency of the Imperial Court, the Kugés naturally suffered with their Imperial masters, and were both poor and without influence on the destinies of the Empire; but, just as the Emperors throughout all their obscurity remained the fount of honour and law, so did the Kugés conserve all their pride and prestige of long descent and Court honour, and were always regarded as almost immeasurable superiors of the wealthy and powerful Daimios. It was the highest ambition of the greatest of the latter to obtain even the smallest offices of the Imperial Court which the Kugés regarded as their own peculiar appanage, and as the latter, living at the Court, in daily contact, if not with the Emperor, with his highest officials, were often able to

exercise considerable influence in the bestowal of these offices, their favour was largely conciliated with rich presents and their daughters sought in marriage by the Daimios. Many of them added to the scanty doles, which they received from the Imperial exchequer, by giving lessons in Court etiquette or polite accomplishments for which even the members of the Shōgun's Court were glad to pay handsomely. Some practised the fine arts, and sold their paintings or triumphs of ornate penmanship. Some were abbots or abbesses of great temples. On the other hand, they were free from the burthens of the Daimios in having no armies of feudal retainers to support, no extensive domains or castles to keep up, no costly journeys to undertake to Yedo, and their poverty had at least one good result—it prevented them falling into physical and mental degeneration and becoming mere sensualists, as did so many of the Daimios, and when the Restoration of 1868 gave them their chance, many of them stepped into the foremost places of official life, and several are at the present day high in the Government.

APPENDIX II

THE DYNASTIES OF THE SHŌGUNS

FROM the seventh to the twelfth centuries the Government was administered by the successive heads of the Fujiwara family. In 1161 Kiyomori, the head of the Taira family, assumed the executive after the defeat of the Minamoto, and held it till his death in 1181, and it was also held by his son and successor till 1185, when the Taira were overthrown and destroyed by the Minamoto. In 1192 Yoritomo, the head of the Minamoto, received from the Emperor Go Toba the appointment of Sei-i-Tai-Shōgun—Barbarian-repressing generalissimo—and became the first of the Shōguns, who continued to govern, as Vice-Gerents of the Emperor, either directly or through regents, till 1868, with the exception of the period 1573–1603. The following are the dynasties of the Shōguns :—

I. THE MINAMOTO FAMILY (1185–1219)

Yoritomo	1192–1199	Governed from 1185, but was only appointed Shōgun by the Emperor in 1192.
Yoriiye, eldest son of Yoritomo	1199–1203	Deposed and murdered by his maternal grandfather.
Sanetomo, second son of Yoritomo	1203–1219	Assassinated by his nephew, Yoriiye's son.

II. HŌJŌ FAMILY (1220–1337)

None of the Hōjō family ever assumed the title of Shōgun, but they carried on the Government as Shikken (Regents)[1] in the name of the Shōguns appointed, on their nomination, by the Emperors. The nominees were invariably boys or even

[1] Shikken literally means "Power Holder."

children, the first two scions of the Fujiwara and the other three of the Imperial families, who were deposed on arriving at manhood, or as soon afterwards as they showed any spirit of impatience at the Hōjō authority.

The names of the Shōguns and the contemporary Regents were :—

SHŌGUNS

Fujiwara Yoritsune .	1220–1244	Age at accession, 9—deposed and sent back to Kioto under a guard.
Fujiwara Yoritsugu .	1244–1251	Age at accession, 6—deposed.
Prince Munetaka (son of the Emperor Go Saga)	1251–1266	Age at accession, 13—deposed.
Prince Koreyasu (son of Munetaka)	1266–1289	Deposed and sent to Kioto, heels upwards, in a palanquin, by the Regent Sadatoki.
Prince Hisaakira (third son of the Emperor Go Fukakusa)	1289–1308	Age at accession, 16—deposed.
Prince Morikuni (son of Hisaakira)	1308–1333	Age at accession, 7—deposed, and died after the taking of Kamakura.

REGENTS

1. Tokimasa . . .	1199–1205	Did not assume the title of Regent, but governed from the death of Yoritomo. In 1205 he nominally retired from active life in favour of his son Yoshitoki, but continued to exercise his influence till his death in 1215.
2. Yoshitoki . . .	1205–1224	
3. Yasutoki . . .	1225–1240	Son of Yoshitoki.
4. Tsunetoki . . .	1242–1246	Grandson of Yasutoki.
5. Tokiyori . . .	1246–1256	Brother of Tsunetoki, abdicated and died 1263, aged 37.
6. Nagatoki . . .	1256–1270	Nephew of Tokiyori.
7. Tokimune . . .	1270–1284	Son of Tokiyori.
8. Sadatoki . . .	1284–1300	Son of Tokimune—succeeded at the age of 14—abdicated and became a priest, but continued to direct till his death in 1311.
9. Morotoki . . .	1300–1311	Grandson of Tokiyori.
10. Takatoki . . .	1315–1333	Son of Sadatoki—killed himself when Kamakura was taken—Takatoki being only nine years of age at Morotoki's death, the regency was conducted by commissioners till 1315.

III. The Ashikaga Family (1333–1573)

1. Takauji	1333–1357	Founder of the dynasty — appointed Shōgun in 1335.
2. Yoshiaki	1358–1367	
3. Yoshimitsu	1368–1393	
4. Yoshimochi	1394–1422	
5. Yoshikatsu	1423–1425	The second, third and fourth Shōguns each abdicated in favour of his son. Yoshikatsu, the fifth, died at the age of nineteen, and his father, Yoshimochi, then resumed office and held it till his death in 1428, when he was succeeded by his younger brother.
6. Yoshinori	1428–1441	
7. Yoshikatsu	1441–1443	Died while still a youth, and was succeeded by his brother—both were sons of Yoshinori.
8. Yoshimasa	1443–1473	Abdicated in favour of his son.
9. Yoshikisa	1473–1489	Died; succeeded by his brother.
10. Yoshitane	1490–1493	Deposed by his own ministers in favour of his son.
11. Yoshisumi	1494–1507	Deposed, and his father restored to office, which he again held till his death in 1521.
12. Yoshiharu	1521–1545	Abdicated in favour of his son.
13. Yoshiteru	1546–1567	Murdered.
14. Yoshiaki	1568–1573	Deposed by Nobunaga and bereft of all power; but, though retired to a monastery, continued to hold the title of Shōgun till his death in 1597.

IV. Interregnum of the Shōguns (1573–1603)

1. Nobunaga	1573–1582	
2. Hideyoshi	1586–1598	Between 1582 and 1586 Hideyoshi governed in the name of Nobunaga's grandson, a child.
3. Hideyori	1598–1600	Government carried on by a council in the name of Hideyori, a child. In 1600 Iyeyasu overthrew the council, and took the Government into his own hands, but was not appointed Shōgun by the Emperor till 1603.

V. The Tokugawa Family (1600–1868)

1.	Iyeyasu	1600–1605	The founder of the dynasty. Governed from 1600, but was not appointed Shōgun by the Emperor till 1603. In 1605 he abdicated in favour of his son, but continued himself to direct the government till his death in 1616.
2.	Hidetada . . .	1605–1623	Abdicated; died 1632.
3.	Iyemitsu . . .	1623–1651	Abdicated; died 1652.
4.	Iyetsuna. . . .	1651–1680	
5.	Tsunayoshi . . .	1681–1709	Murdered by his wife.
6.	Iyenobu	1709–1712	
7.	Iyetsugu. . . .	1713–1716	
8.	Yoshimune . . .	1717–1744	Abdicated; died 1751.
9.	Iyeshige	1745–1762	
10.	Iyeharu	1762–1786	
11.	Iyenari	1787–1836	Abdicated: died 1841.
12.	Iyeyoshi	1837–1852	
13.	Iyesada	1853–1858	
14.	Iyemochi . . .	1858–1866	
15.	Yoshinobu . . .	1866–1868	Known also as Keiki—that being the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters in which his name is written—and as Hitotsubashi, from the fact that he was, in his youth, adopted into the family of that name. The last of the Shōguns—still living.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF PROVINCES

In the reign of the Emperor Seimei (A.D. 130–190) Japan, as far as it was then known, was divided into thirty-two provinces, and in that of Mommu (697–707) the number was increased to sixty-six by the subdivision of some of the old and the additions, which increased geographical knowledge enabled to be made, of new provinces.

One of the results of the invasion of Korea by the Empress Jingō was the classification of the provinces into circuits on the Chinese system which was in use in Korea, and the arrangement made by her, with some modifications introduced by her successors, continued in force till 1872.

The circuits were as follows:—

1. The Go Kinai or five Home Provinces, the provinces that lay immediately around the capital—
   Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Idzumi and Setsu.
   The Go Kinai stood apart and were, strictly speaking, not a circuit, but are for convenience' sake here included in the general list.
2. The Tōkaidō or Eastern Sea Circuit, the fifteen provinces extending from the Northern Frontier of Yamato along the east coast of the main island to Hitachi, the northern frontier of which was about one hundred miles north of Tokio—
   Iga, Isé, Shima, Owari, Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, Idzu, Kai, Sagami, Musashi, Awa, Kadzusa, Shimōsa and Hitachi.
3. The Tōzandō or Eastern Mountain circuit; eight provinces, extending from the extreme north of the main island through its centre as far as Lake Biwa. The first two were subsequently subdivided into seven provinces—
   Mutsu, Dewa, Kōdzuké, Shimotsuké, Shinano, Hida, Mino and Omi.

4. The Hokurikudo or Northern Land Circuit; seven provinces all lying along the west coast and including the Island of Sado—
   Sado, Yechigo, Yechiu, Noto, Kaga, Yechizen and Wakasa.
5. The Sanindô or Mountain Back Circuit; eight provinces on or touching the south-west coast of the main island—
   Tamba, Tango, Tajima, Inaba, Hôki, Izumo, Iwami and the Oki Islands.
6. The Sanyôdo or Mountain Front Circuit; eight provinces lying along the north shore of the Inland Sea from Akashi to Shimonoseki, except Mimasaka, which is inland and does not touch the coast—
   Harima, Mimasaka, Bizen, Bitchiu, Bingo, Aki, Suwo and Nagato.
7. The Nankaido or Southern Sea Circuit; six provinces, one in the extreme south-east of the main island, the Island of Awaji, and the four provinces of the Island of Shikoku—
   Ki, Awaji, Sanuki, Iyo, Tosa and Awa.
8. The Saikaidô or Western Sea Circuit, the nine provinces constituting the Island of Kiushiu—
   Bungo, Buzen, Chikuzen, Chikugo, Hizen, Higo, Satsuma, Osumi and Hiuga.

It will be seen that the provinces of the first six circuits are all in the main island, and with the addition of the first province in the seventh, constitute the whole island. The two islands of Iki and Tsushima, the last of the eight great islands, were not comprised in any circuit. The above are the original Japanese names of the provinces, but some are more commonly mentioned by the Chinese reading of the first syllable of their Japanese names with the word shiu (province) attached to it. Thus, Nagato is much better known as Chôshiu, Ki as Kishiu, and Shinano as Shinshiu, than by their proper Japanese names. The "Kuantô," so frequently mentioned in the text, were the eight provinces, Shimotsuke, Kôdsuke, Hitachi, Shimôsa, Kadzusa, Awa, Musashi and Sagami, which lay around Yedo, just as the Go Kinai lay around Kioto. The term means "East of the Barrier," and it signifies the provinces that lay to the east of the important military barrier that was formerly maintained at Azuka, the mountain pass between the provinces

of Omi and Yamashiro, which all persons travelling between Yedo and Kioto had to cross.

The provinces from which the San Kei and Kokushiu Daimios[1] took their titles under the Tokugawa administration were Owari, Ki, Mito (these three were the San Kei or three families), Sendai, Mutsu, Kaga, Omi, Yechizen, Aki, and Chōshiu in the main island; Tosa and Awa in Shikoku; Higo, Hizen, Satsuma, Chikugo and Chikuzen in Kiushiu, and the Island of Tsushima.

The Island of Yezo and the Chishima Islands to the north of it were constituted in 1868 a ninth circuit under the term Hokkaido or Northern Sea Circuit. In 1872 the whole country was, for administrative purposes, divided into prefectures. Several rearrangements have since been made, and the whole number of prefectures at the present day is forty-seven. Their official titles, which were given quite irrespective of the original provincial boundaries, are now in general use for geographical purposes. The provincial nomenclature belongs to Old Japan.

[1] *Vide* p. 225 and 307.

APPENDIX IV

THE LAWS OF SHŌTOKU DAISHI

[The following version of the Laws of Shōtoku Daishi (*vide* page 69) is extracted from the translation of the *Nihongi* by Dr. W. G. Aston, published in the Transactions of the Japan Society, London. It is here reprinted with the permission of the Chairman and Council of the Society. While called "Laws" by the Japanese, it is, it will be seen, rather a code of moral precepts than of Laws. As such it is still held in high veneration, and is regarded in a somewhat analogous way to that in which we look upon the Sermon on the Mount.]

I. HARMONY is to be valued, and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honoured. All men are influenced by class-feelings, and there are few who are intelligent. Hence there are some who disobey their lords and fathers, or who maintain feuds with the neighbouring villages. But when those above are harmonious and those below are friendly, and there is concord in the discussion of business, right views of things spontaneously gain acceptance. Then what is there which cannot be accomplished?

II. Sincerely reverence the three treasures. The three treasures, viz. Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood, are the final refuge of the four generated beings, and are the supreme objects of faith in all countries. What man in what age can fail to reverence this law? Few men are utterly bad. They may be taught to follow it. But if they do not betake them to the three treasures, wherewithal shall their crookedness be made straight?

III. When you receive the Imperial commands, fail not scrupulously to obey them. The lord is Heaven, the vassal is Earth. Heaven overspreads, and Earth upbears. When this is so, the four seasons follow their due course, and the powers of Nature obtain their efficacy. If the Earth attempted to overspread, Heaven would simply fall in ruin. Therefore is it that when the lord speaks, the vassal listens; when the superior acts, the inferior yields compliance. Consequently when you receive the Imperial commands, fail

not to carry them out scrupulously. Let there be a want of care in this matter, and ruin is the natural consequence.

IV. The Ministers and functionaries should make decorous behaviour their leading principle, for the leading principle of the government of the people consists in decorous behaviour. If the superiors do not behave with decorum, the inferiors are disorderly: if inferiors are wanting in proper behaviour, there must necessarily be offences. Therefore it is that when lord and vassal behave with propriety, the distinctions of rank are not confused: when the people behave with propriety, the Government of the Commonwealth proceeds of itself.

V. Ceasing from gluttony and abandoning covetous desires, deal impartially with the suits which are submitted to you. Of complaints brought by the people there are a thousand in one day. If in one day there are so many, how many will there be in a series of years? If the man who is to decide suits at law makes gain his ordinary motive, and hears causes with a view to receiving bribes, then will the suits of the rich man be like a stone flung into water, while the plaints of the poor will resemble water cast upon a stone. Under these circumstances the poor man will not know whither to betake himself. Here too there is a deficiency in the duty of the Minister.

VI. Chastise that which is evil and encourage that which is good. This was the excellent rule of antiquity. Conceal not, therefore, the good qualities of others, and fail not to correct that which is wrong when you see it. Flatterers and deceivers are a sharp weapon for the overthrow of the State, and a pointed sword for the destruction of the people. Sycophants are also fond, when they meet, of dilating to their superiors on the errors of their inferiors; to their inferiors, they censure the faults of their superiors. Men of this kind are all wanting in fidelity to their lord, and in benevolence towards the people. From such an origin great civil disturbances arise.

VII. Let every man have his own charge, and let not the spheres of duty be confused. When wise men are entrusted with office, the sound of praise arises. If unprincipled men hold office, disasters and tumults are multiplied. In this world, few are born with knowledge: wisdom is the product of earnest meditation. In all things, whether great or small, find the right man, and they will surely be well managed: on all occasions, be they urgent or the reverse, meet but

with a wise man, and they will of themselves be amenable. In this way will the State be lasting and the Temples of the Earth and of Grain will be free from danger. Therefore did the wise sovereigns of antiquity seek the man to fill the office, and not the office for the sake of the man.

VIII. Let the Ministers and functionaries attend the Court early in the morning, and retire late. The business of the State does not admit of remissness, and the whole day is hardly enough for its accomplishment. If, therefore, the attendance at Court is late, emergencies cannot be met: if officials retire soon, the work cannot be completed.

IX. Good faith is the foundation of right. In everything let there be good faith, for in it there surely consists the good and the bad, success and failure. If the lord and the vassal observe good faith one with another, what is there which cannot be accomplished? If the lord and the vassal do not observe good faith towards one another, everything without exception ends in failure.

X. Let us cease from wrath, and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts, and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can any one lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all, one with another, wise and foolish, like a ring which has no end. Therefore, although others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we alone may be in the right, let us follow the multitude and act like them.

XI. Give clear appreciation to merit and demerit, and deal out to each its sure reward or punishment. In these days, reward does not attend upon merit, nor punishment upon crime. Ye high functionaries who have charge of public affairs, let it be your task to make clear rewards and punishments.

XII. Let not the provincial authorities or the Kuni no Miyakko [1] levy exactions on the people. In a country there are not two lords; the people have not two masters. The sovereign is the master of the people of the whole country. The officials to whom he gives charge are all his vassals. How can they, as well as the Government, presume to levy taxes on the people?

[1] Kuni no Miyakko, the local governors of the Provinces.

XIII. Let all persons entrusted with office attend equally to their functions. Owing to their illness or to their being sent on missions, their work may sometimes be neglected. But whenever they become able to attend to business, let them be as accommodating as if they had had cognizance of it from before, and not hinder public affairs on the score of their not having had to do with them.

XIV. Ye ministers and functionaries! Be not envious. For if we envy others, they in turn will envy us. The evils of envy know no limit. If others excel us in intelligence, it gives us no pleasure; if they surpass us in ability, we are envious. Therefore it is not until after a lapse of five hundred years that we at last meet with a wise man, and even in a thousand years we hardly obtain one sage. But if we do not find wise men and sages, wherewithal shall the country be governed?

XV. To turn away from that which is private, and to set our face towards that which is public—this is the path of a Minister. Now if a man is influenced by private motives, he will assuredly feel resentments, and if he is influenced by resentful feelings, he will assuredly fail to act harmoniously with others. If he fails to act harmoniously with others, he will assuredly sacrifice the public interests to his private feelings. When resentment arises, it interferes with order, and is subversive of law. Therefore in the first clause it was said, that superiors and inferiors should agree together. The purport is the same as this.

XVI. Let the people be employed (in forced labour) at seasonable times. This is an ancient and excellent rule. Let them be employed, therefore, in the winter months, when they are at leisure. But from Spring to Autumn, when they are engaged in agriculture or with the mulberry trees, the people should not be so employed. But if they do not attend to agriculture, what will they have to eat? if they do not attend to the mulberry trees, what will they do for clothing?

XVII. Decisions on important matters should not be made by one person alone. They should be discussed with many. But small matters are of less consequence. It is unnecessary to consult a number of people. It is only in the case of the discussion of weighty affairs, when there is a suspicion that they may miscarry, that one should arrange matters in concert with others, so as to arrive at the right conclusion.

APPENDIX V

THE LEGACY OF IYEYASU

[The following translation of the Legacy of Iyeyasu was made by the late Mr. J. F. Lowder, formerly H.M. Consul at Yokohama, and published at Yokohama in pamphlet form in 1874. It has never been published in England, and as the original edition has been long out of print, it is here reprinted, with the consent of the widow of the translator, leaving out some chapters which deal only with items of administrative detail. The explanatory notes are by the present writer.]

THIS manuscript, consisting of one hundred chapters, was written by Toshōgu of Kunō, in the province of Suruga. It is contained in the Imperial depository, and may not be seen by any but the Gorōjiu, who profoundly secreting it even when within the precincts of the official residence in order to conceal it from the sight of others, shall reflect upon, and record it in their hearts.[1]

CHAPT. I.—It is necessary before all to apply the undivided attention of the mind to that which is naturally distasteful, setting aside one's own inclinations.

CHAPT. II.—Show special commiseration for the widower, the widow, the orphan and the lone; for this is the foundation of charitable government.

CHAPT. III.—Keep your heart pure; and as long as your body shall exist, be diligent in paying honour and veneration to the gods.

[1] This heading, which is that of the copy preserved in the Court of the Shōgun, is not part of the original manuscript. Toshōgu is the posthumous name of Iyeyasu, the name that is bestowed after death by the Buddhist priests. Kunō is the name of the temple near Shidzuoka in which Iyeyasu was first buried, prior to the erection of the great mausoleum at Nikkō, in which many people say that his remains still rest, only a hair of his head having been carried to Nikkō.

CHAPT. IV.—In future ages, in the event of there being no direct successor to a dynasty, the Chief Councillors of Ii, Honda, Sakakibara, and Sakai,[1] will assemble in conference; and after mutual deliberation and consultation, unbiassed by considerations of consanguinity or affinity, choose a fit and proper person, and duly insure the succession.

CHAPT. V.—The etiquette to be observed upon being installed as Sei-Shōgun, is to be patterned after the example of the Lord of Kamakura (Yoritomo).

The whole amount of the revenue of the Empire of Japan is 28,190,000 koku [of rice]. Of this 20,000,000 is to be divided among the Daimiō and Shomiō who render faithful service, and the remaining 8,190,000 koku form the public revenue, which should provide for the effectual protection of the Emperor, and for keeping in subjection the barbarians of the four coasts.[2]

CHAPT. VI.—Although it has been said that ancient customs are to be preserved as laid down in the several articles of the laws framed for the military classes, these may be modified or supplemented as it becomes beneficial.

CHAPT. VII.—The Fudai are those samurai who followed me, and proffered me their fealty before the overthrow of the castle of Osaka, in the province of Sesshiu.

The Tozama are those samurai who returned and submitted to me after its downfall, of whom there are 86.

There are 8,023 Fudai cavalry-lancers. Besides these there are eighteen samurai of my own house, and five Guests of honour.

This division is recorded, that they be not regarded as all holding the same position.

CHAPT. VIII (Omitted).—Describes the castle at Yedo and its guards.

CHAPT. IX (Omitted).—Names the Fudai samurai who accompanied Iyeyasu from his ancestral seat at Mikawa, and directs that the members of the Gorōjiu shall be chosen from them.

CHAPT. X.—The Fudai Samurai, great and small, all have shown the utmost fidelity, even suffering their bones to be ground to powder, and their flesh to be chopped up for me.

[1] The four leading Fudai Daimios; Ii, the first named, was the ancestor of Ii Kamon no Kami, in whose family the office of Tairō or regent for the Shōgun was hereditary.

[2] Public revenue means the revenue of the Shōgun's Government, the chief duties of which were to guard the Emperor from danger, and to preserve peace in every quarter of the Empire. Rice was the standard of value, and one koku at that period was worth about fifteen shillings.

In what way soever their posterity may offend,—for anything less than actual treason, their estate may not be confiscated.

CHAPT. XI.—If there be any one, be he Kokushi, Riōshiu, or Jōshiu,[1] Tozama or Fudai—none are excepted—who shall disobey the laws, to the injury of the people, his territory or castle shall immediately be confiscated, that martial severity may be reverenced. This is a part of the Shōgun's duty.

CHAPT. XII.—In order to prevent any misunderstanding as to precedence among officers of the higher grades of the same seniority, it is decreed that they take order according to the amount of their revenue. [This does not apply to the Gorōjiu and Wakadoshiyori.]

CHAPT. XIII.—The magistrates of the Civil and Criminal Courts are reflectors of the mode of Government. The persons invested with this office should be chosen from a class of men who are upright and pure, distinguished for charity and benevolence. Once every month one of the Gorōjiu should be sent unexpectedly, to inquire into their mode of administration; or the Shōgun should himself go unexpectedly, and investigate and decide the case on hand.

CHAPT. XIV (Omitted).—Table of precedence among the officials of the Shōgun's Government.

CHAPT. XV.—In my youth, my sole aim was to conquer and subjugate inimical provinces, and to take revenge upon the enemies of my ancestors. Yuyō teaches, however, that "to assist the people is to give peace to the Empire," and since I have come to understand that the precept is founded on sound principle, I have undeviatingly followed it. Let my posterity hold fast this principle. Any one turning his back upon it is no descendant of mine.

The People are the foundation of the Empire.

CHAPT. XVI.—The reclamation and filling in of new ground was originated in the time of Yoritomo; and there are doubtless ancient regulations extant, bearing upon this subject. Petitions having in view the recovery of land should be taken into consideration, and no opposition should be made to them; but if there exists the slightest objection, according to ancient usages, it is strictly prohibited to entertain them.

[1] *Vide* page 225.

CHAPT. XVII.—In the absence of precedent, forbid the making of new ground, new water courses, and so forth, and framing of any new measures of what kind soever. Know that disturbances always arise from such innovations.

CHAPT. XVIII.—It is forbidden to alter a faulty regulation if, through inadvertency, it has been allowed to remain in force during fifty years.

CHAPT. XIX.—There will always be some individual of ancient lineage to be found living among the lower classes of district towns and hamlets. Such a one as this should be selected for appointment to minor official situations; but care should be taken not to choose refugees and the like.

The import of this should be notified to the Tax-Collectorates particularly; and also to Kokushi, Riōshu, Jitō,[1] and downwards.

CHAPT. XX.—The Daimiō and Shomiō of the Fudai and Tozama classes who do not hold official appointments, are divided into two halves. One of these is to reside in Yedo, until relieved by the other.

When relieved, they are to employ their period of rest in making a tour of inspection into the prosperity or adversity of the population of their territories.

Those on service should be entrusted with the various duties connected with the castle, and the protection of the outer enclosures. They should lend assistance in repairing rents and damages, in the erection of new buildings, and in extinguishing fires, and so on.

These duties are not exacted solely for myself or my house; but for the Shōgun, whose duty it is to protect and defend the Emperor.

CHAPT. XXI.—The modes of commending virtue and rewarding merit are:

1st—Grant of name or title [often bestowed after death].
2nd—Spoken commendation.
3rd—Rank and Revenue.
4th—Official situation.
5th—Minor superintendencies.

The modes of punishing crime for the repression of vice are:

1st—Branding (or tattooing).
2nd—Splitting the nose.
3rd—Banishment.

[1] Jitō = lord of a district.

4th—Transportation.
5th—Imprisonment.
6th—Decapitation and exposition of the head.
7th—Crucifixion and transfixion.
8th—Burning.
9th—Decapitation, and so on.

These rewards are to be bestowed and punishments to be inflicted only after a strict investigation into the merits of commendable or criminal conduct; and although a notification to the above effect has been issued to the Courts of Law, particular pains should be taken to impress it upon their strict observance.

The infliction of the severe punishments of tying a criminal's legs to two oxen, and driving them in different directions, and of boiling in oil, is not within the power of the Shōgun.

CHAPT. XXII.—You should not hastily attach to your person officers of the higher grades who are ever ready and obedient; nor should you precipitately dismiss the lukewarm. They should be attached or dismissed in a quiet way, after due consideration of the behaviour of each, and consultation with the Gorōjiu. Neither should be done in a hurried or inconsiderate manner.

CHAPT. XXIII.—It has been said of old, "Although advised on all sides to put to death, put not to death: but when all the people of the country advise capital punishment, inflict it only after reiterated investigation into the merits of the case in question.

"Though advised on all sides to confer reward, confer not reward; but when all the people of the country advise the bestowal of reward, concede only after reiterated inquiry into the merits of the case in question."

The art of governing a country consists in the manifestation of due deference on the part of a suzerain towards his vassals. Know that if you turn your back upon this, you will be assassinated, and the Empire will be lost.

CHAPT. XXIV.—Although a person of former days deprecates the custom of fishing with divers, and of hawking, such sauntering for amusement does not entail a needless destruction of life. "The tribute offering, by noblemen, of the spoil of the hunt and of the chase to the Emperor" is an ancient custom among the military class of other countries as well as of Japan. It tends to render soldiers expert in the use of the bow, and in horsemanship; and in times of

great peace is beneficially remindful of the excitement of war. It is a custom which should not be discontinued.

CHAPT. XXV.—Although singing and instrumental music are not the calling of the military class, at times they expand the spirits, and relieve depression, and are delightful recreations in the joyfulness of great peace. In the first festivals of the years and months, these also should not be discontinued.

CHAPT. XXVI.—The successive generations of military chiefs of the family of Gen,[1] from Sadazumi Shin-no downwards, are enshrined at Momijiyama in the Western Inclosure, for the repression of evil influences, and for the protection of the shrines dedicated to ancestors within the boundaries of the castle. Future generations shall pay them the highest respect and veneration, and shall be diligent in sacrificing to, and worshipping them.

CHAPT. XXVII.—I, although the offspring of Seiwa, and born in the family of Matsudaira of Mikawa, was overcome by inimical provinces, and for a long time depressed and confined among the common people. Now, I am thankful to say, being engirdled with the favour of Heaven, the ancestral estate of Serata, Nitta, Tokugawa, and Matsudaira have returned to me. Henceforth let succeeding generations venerate these four families, and not depart from the teaching:—"Let there be a careful attention to parents, and let them be followed when long gone."

CHAPT. XXVIII.—Reverting to the scenes of battle at which I have been present during my career, there must have occurred eighty or ninety hand to hand encounters. Eighteen times have I escaped with my life from ten thousand deaths.

[1] The Minamoto family. Seiwa was the fifty-sixth Emperor (859–877), and Prince Sadazumi was his sixth son, from whom the Minamoto claimed to be descended. One of the Minamoto founded a branch family which took the surname of Nitta from its estate in the province of Hitachi. The branch again subdivided in later years into new families which bore the surnames, all of geographical origin, of Serata, Tokugawa and Matsudaira, and Iyeyasu was entitled not only to use any one of the four surnames, but that also of Minamoto. All the Kamon daimio (the daimio of the house and blood of the Tokugawas), exclusive of the San Kei, bore the name of Matsudaira, and the name is largely represented in the new peerage of the present day. There is an omission in the translation here. The chapter concludes with the instruction that Tokugawa should thenceforward be the distinguishing name of Iyeyasu's own family. Momijiyama (Maple Hill) is part of the gardens of the castle at Yedo, now the Imperial palace.

On this account I have founded eighteen "Danrin" (lit., sandal groves, or temples) [1] at Yedo as a thank-offering. Let my posterity ever be of the honoured sect of Jōdo (Buddhist sect).

CHAPT. XXIX.—With respect to the temple of Yeizan on the East of the Castle in the Military capital (Yedo) I have received much and repeated instruction from the late Daishi. Is it well that I should not demonstrate my gratitude? I have reverentially begged for him the office of Preceptor of the first degree, and Chief Priest of Tendai and have offered up prayers and supplications that wicked resentment may entirely cease, and that the country and its households may enjoy undisturbed peace and harmony.[2]

CHAPT. XXX.—The Preceptor will be a sufficient provision for the defence of the royal castle; and in the event of the Imperial residence being assailed by inimical barbarians, he shall be elevated to the "Throne of divine blessings," and the Shōgun shall aid and assist him in subjugating and exterminating them.

CHAPT. XXXI.—High and low alike may follow their own inclinations with respect to religious tenets which have obtained down to the present time, except as regards "the false and corrupt school" [Roman Catholic]. Religious disputes have ever proved the bane and misfortune of the Empire, and should determinedly be put a stop to.

[1] These temples include not only those at Shiba and Uyeno in Yedo, but others in other parts of the Empire.

[2] Yeizan is the temple of Toyeizan at Uyeno, destroyed in the last fight of the war of the Restoration (*vide* p. 347). Daishi is the highest honorary title that can be given to a Buddhist priest. Tendai is one of the great Buddhist sects. This and the following chapter illustrate the far-seeing policy of Iyeyasu. The legality of his office depended on the Emperor, who, living at Kioto, might, though he was always closely guarded by Iyeyasu's own adherents and though all the territorial princes were forbidden access to him or even to visit Kioto, sometime fall into the power of, or, like Go Daigo, join enemies to the Shōgunate. A prince of the Imperial family was therefore always installed as Chief Abbot (or Preceptor) of Toyeizan, where he was always under the direct eye of the Shōgun, so that, in either of the above eventualities, the deposition of the Emperor and the installation of the Princely Abbot on the throne might be proclaimed at once. When the adherents of the last of the Shōguns were finally driven from Yedo in 1868 they endeavoured to put this policy in force, and carrying the Princely Abbot at that time with them to the North, they proclaimed him as Emperor. Their subsequent defeat rendered the policy useless. The Abbot was subsequently known as Prince Kita Shirakawa. He forsook the priesthood for the army, became a distinguished general, and died while in command of the army engaged in the subjugation of Formosa after its cession by China.

CHAPT. XXXII.—The families of Gen, Pei, Tō, Kitsu, the two families of Kan and Ki-Ariwara and Kiowara,[1] derive their names from the Supreme Ruler (Emperor). It would be no shameless thing if one among these, attaining to the military command-in-chief, although apparently possessing the necessary capability, were nevertheless a man void of knowledge and erudition, to whom the path of wisdom and virtue is dark, all whose deliberations proceed from his own mind, ignorant of the military accomplishments necessary in a military man.

From time to time colleges should be instituted, where by self-exertion others may be stimulated and encouraged to enter, and receive virtuous instruction.

CHAPT. XXXIII.—The way to govern a country and to keep an Empire tranquil originally proceeds from the "Gate of Perfection of Wisdom" (Confucian teachings).

To endeavour to attain to literary or military perfection in any other path is like "climbing a tree in search of fish, or plunging into the water to look for fire."

Reflect that this is the height of shallow-brained stupidity.

CHAPT. XXXIV.—There is always a certain amount of sickness among the population of the Empire. A sage of old, being grieved at this, established a medical code; and although there may be proof, in the effectual cure of disease, that others have drawn from this stream, such should not be endowed with large territory, lest being in possession of landed estate they straightway become indolent in the exercise of their profession. A suitable reward should be bestowed upon them, adequate to the shallowness or depth of the cure effected.

CHAPT. XXXV.—By an ancient custom of the Empire, Niidono, the Spiritual Chief,[2] has the entire control of every particular connected with the physical study of the Heavens, and the management of the Spirits of the five grains. Should any one, however, set himself in opposition to the examples and precepts of the Military Chief of the Empire, there should be no hesitation or delay in punishing him severely.

CHAPT. XXXVI.—All wandering mendicants, such as male sorcerers, female diviners, hermits, blind people, beggars,

[1] The families of Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, Sugiwara, etc., all claiming divine descent through the Emperor, or directly as in the case of the Fujiwara.

[2] The chief Shintō priest.

and tanners, have had from of old their respective rulers. Be not disinclined, however, to punish any such who give rise to disputes, or who overstep the boundaries of their own classes, and are disobedient to existing laws.

CHAPT. XXXVII.—A girded sword is the living soul of a samurai. In the case of a samurai forgetting his sword, act as is appointed; it may not be overlooked.

CHAPTS. XXXVIII and XXXIX (Omitted).—Regulate the number of cavalry soldiers to be furnished by each Daimio in proportion to the value of his domains as assessed in the survey of 1592.

CHAPT. XL.—By a fortunate choice on my part, Ii Manchio-maru is created Commander-in-chief, and holds the "Golden Baton." Honda Hehachiro is created second commander, and holds the "Silver Baton." Murakami Hikotaro is created third commander, and is authorized to bear the "Paper Baton." It is necessary that every samurai should know these particulars.

CHAPT. XLI.—The boundary lines of possessions held by samurai may not be varied or trespassed upon so much as a hair's breadth. In the event of disputes of this nature being referred for decision, the plan in the Civil Court should be compared with the Register, and the boundary line fixed. But if there should be any difficulty in determining the matter, an Inspector, a Chief Supervisor, and a Judge should repair to the place in dispute, and in the usual manner give their decision in accordance with the Register. In the event of such decision not being accepted, and one of the disputants making still further complaint, the place in dispute shall be confiscated, and the amount of the possessions of the appellant reduced.

CHAPT. XLII.—There is a difference in the ceremonies to be observed by direct retainers and secondary retainers of rank.

CHAPT. XLIII.—Parties fighting and wounding each other with sharp instruments are equally culpable, but should be judged according to the severity of the wounds inflicted. The rule of procedure on such occasions is to arrest the criminal party; but at times it may not be expedient to trace him.

CHAPT. XLIV.—The strictest and most careful search shall be made for persons guilty of murder by stratagem, or with malice prepense—of poisoning for selfish purposes, and of

wounding others while robbing a house—who, when found, shall be executed.

CHAPT. XLV.—The samurai are the masters of the four classes. Agriculturists, artizans, and merchants may not behave in a rude manner towards samurai. The term for a rude man is "other than expected fellow": and a samurai is not to be interfered with in cutting down a fellow who has behaved to him in a manner other than is expected.

The samurai are grouped into direct retainers, secondary retainers and nobles and retainers of high and low grade; but the same line of conduct is equally allowable to them all towards an "other than expected fellow."

CHAPT. XLVI.—The married state is the great relation of mankind. One should not live alone after sixteen years of age, but should procure a mediator, and perform the ceremony of matrimonial alliance. The same kindred, however, may not intermarry.

A family of good descent should be chosen to marry into; for when a line of descendants is prolonged, the foreheads of ancestors expand. All mankind recognize marriage as the first law of nature.

This subject should be circulated, that it be not lost sight of.

CHAPT. XLVII.—A childless man should make provision, by the adoption of a child, to ensure the succession of the family estate; but it is not customary for a person under fifteen years of age to adopt a child.

An adopted son of the Emperor is called "Hom-miya"; of the Shōgun is termed Shōkun (heir apparent); of a Lord of a province is designated Seishi; of Hatamoto [1] and downwards is called Yōshi (adopted child).

The family estate of a person dying without male issue and without having adopted a son, is forfeited without any regard to his relations or connections.

Nevertheless, as it is taught by the sages and worthies that the Empire is the Empire of its people and does not appertain to one man alone, in the event of an Infant on the point of death wishing to adopt a child, there is no objection to his being allowed to prolong his race in the person of one who is of age.

[1] Hatamoto were a class of territorial gentry created by Iyeyasu, who occupied a position inferior to that of the daimio, but as landowners higher to that of the squires or retainers of the daimio.

CHAPT. XLVIII.—In lieu of the practice which has hitherto obtained, viz., that of the Emperor in person making a tour of investigation to the several provinces for the purpose of hearing verbally from the Princes an account of their several administrations, let an Inspector be sent every five or seven years to the different provinces to examine into the traces of the behaviour of the Kokushiu and Riōshiu during their absence from Yedo. The inspection into the well-being or dissatisfaction of the peasantry, the increase or decrease of the produce, the repairs and alterations effected in the castles, and so on, are not to be discontinued.

CHAPT. XLIX.—The territories entrusted to the Daimiō, with the exception of the Kokushiu, shall not be perpetuated to successive generations. They should be interchanged every year, the territories being apportioned relatively. Should the territory entrusted to one Daimiō remain in his possession for too long a time, he is certain to become ungovernable and oppress the people.

CHAPT. L.—If a married woman of the agricultural, artizan, or commercial class shall secretly have illicit intercourse with another man, it is not necessary for the husband to enter a complaint against the persons thus confusing the great relation of mankind, but he may put them both to death. Nevertheless should he slay one of them and spare the other, his guilt is the same as that of the unrighteous persons.

In the event, however, of advice being sought, the parties not having been slain, accede to the wishes of the complainant with regard to putting them to death or not.

Mankind, in whose bodies the male and female elements induce a natural desire towards the same object, do not look upon such practices with aversion; and the adjudication of such cases is a matter of special deliberation and consultation.

CHAPT. LI.—Men and women of the Military class are expected to know better than to occasion disturbance by violating existing regulations, and such a one breaking the regulations by lewd trifling or illicit intercourse, shall at once be punished without deliberation or consultation. It is not the same in this case as in that of agriculturists, artizans and traders.

CHAPT. LII.—In respect to revenging injury done to

master or father it is granted by the wise and virtuous (Confucius) that you and the injurer cannot live together under the canopy of heaven.

A person harbouring such vengeance shall notify the same in writing to the criminal court; and although no check or hindrance may be offered to his carrying out his desire within the period allowed for that purpose, it is forbidden that the chastisement of an enemy be attended with riot.

Fellows who neglect to give notice of their intended revenge are like wolves of pretext; and their punishment or pardon should depend upon the circumstances of the case.

CHAPT. LIII.—The guilt of a vassal murdering his suzerain is the same in principle as that of an archtraitor to the Emperor. His immediate companions, his relations, and all even to his most distant connections shall be cut off (and mowed to atoms) root and fibre. The guilt of a vassal only lifting his hand against his master, even though he does not assassinate him, is the same.

CHAPT. LIV.—The position a wife holds towards a concubine is the same as that of a lord towards his vassal.

The Emperor has twelve imperial concubines. The Princes may have eight concubines. Officers of the higher class may have five mistresses. A samurai may have two handmaids. All below this are ordinary married men.

A sage of old makes this known in his Book of Rites, and it has been a constant law from of old to the present day.

Silly and ignorant men neglect their true wives for the sake of a loved mistress, and thus disturb the most important relation. In olden times the downfall of castles and the overthrow of kingdoms all proceeded from this alone. Why is not the indulgence of passion guarded against? Men so far sunk as this may always be known as samurai without fidelity or sincerity.

CHAPT. LV.—It is a righteous and world-recognized rule that a true husband takes care of outside business, while a true wife manages the affairs of the house. When a wife occupies herself with outside affairs, her husband loses his business, and it is a pre-evidence of ruin to the house: it is as when a hen is afflicted with a propensity to crow at morn, and an affliction of which every samurai should beware. This again is an assistance in the knowledge of mankind.

CHAPT. LVI.—The nine Castles, viz., those of Iwatsuki,

Kawagoi, and Oshi in the province of Musashi, of Sakura, Sekiyado and Kogawa in the province of Shimo-osa, of Takazaki in Kōzuke, of Utsunomiya in Shimōdzuke, and of Odawara in Sagami, are all branch-castles of the chief Castle at Yedo.

They may not be entrusted to the charges of any one but a samurai of the Fudai class specially appointed to the trust. They are outworks for the protection of the chief Castle.

CHAPT. LVII.—The two castles of Fuchiu and Kunō in the province of Suruga shall be intrusted to the guardianship of the Chief of the "Private Guards." They are accessory to the principal castle.

CHAPT. LVIII.—The Warden of the two castles of Osaka in the province of Setsu, and of Fushimi in the province of Yamashiro should be a vassal of ancient lineage, and above the "Fourth Grade." Certain of the "Guards" should be stationed there as resident guards. When war is made, one of these Castles should be the head-quarters of the Main Army.

CHAPT. LIX.—There are sixteen guard-houses established on the main roads and by-roads of the districts and provinces, some on the seashore, some inland, in order to prevent man or woman disturbing the public peace, and for defences of the boundaries of the state. The superintendence of these should be entrusted to a samurai of the Fudai class of ancient lineage, without regard, however, to his wealth. He shall see that the rules written for their regulation are properly carried out. Under certain circumstances not even a needle should be permitted to pass; but on ordinary occasion horses and vehicles may go through.[1]

[1] From a very early period it was the custom to maintain barriers guarded by troops at certain mountain passes and other strategic points. Their original object was to guard against incursions by the savage Ainu into the Japanese colonies, but from the time of Yoritomo onwards, their sole object was to prevent treacherous communications between the Shōgun's Court in the Eastern provinces (Kuantō) and the Imperial Court at Kioto. The best known were Auzaka near Kioto (page 96) and Hakone (page 104). The latter was only abolished in 1871, and its remains still exist. A watch was kept here to prevent the wives of Daimios escaping from Yedo (page 213), and women proceeding to Yedo were also subjected to a strict search, lest they should be the medium of carrying treasonable documents. One curious result of this was a large number of barbers' shops in the town of Odawara, at the foot of the Hakone Pass, who drove a prosperous trade in re-dressing the locks of the ladies, dishevelled in the search to which they were subjected at the barrier.

CHAPT. LX.—The protection of the Castle of Nijo [1] shall be entrusted to some reliable and trustworthy Fudai of good lineage, instead of to that of the Commander-in-Chief; he shall be called "The Kiōto Representative," and on all occasions of disturbance the Thirty Western States shall take their orders from him.

CHAPT. LXI.—The office of Prefect of Kiushiu has for a long time, since the time of Odono, been temporarily discontinued. This office should be entrusted on alternate years to the two houses of Shimadzu (Satsuma) and Nabeshima (Hizen).[2]

It is forbidden to give this trust to any other house for ever.

CHAPT. LXII.—In the inner inclosure, beneath the Castle at Yedo, there are twenty-eight curtained [3] guard-houses; and there are also twenty-eight in the outer inclosure.

The superintendence of the Inner Inclosure shall be entrusted to a Fudai, for the time being resident in Yedo; that of the Outer Inclosure to a Hatamoto on duty at the time.

They shall be directed as a matter of course to attend to the guard-house regulations, and to see that the military weapons, swords, insignia, and all the implements of war are kept clean and in proper order.

CHAPT. LXIII.—The several duties about the castle to be performed by the samurai on duty, and the work to be done in connection therewith should be well considered, and allotted in proportion to their revenues; but they should not be appointed to high offices of state. Some three, four or five of them should be set apart for the transaction of contingent official business.

[1] The castle used as a residence by the Shōgun when he visited Kioto—still existing.

[2] Odono—more properly Ōtomo—was the family name of the Territorial Princes of Bungo, who were the greatest feudatories in Kiushiu, until their power was destroyed by Satsuma early in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. From the time of Yoritomo until then, they had continuously held an office which might be described as the Vice-Royalty of Kiushiu. Both Ōtomo and Satsuma were said to be direct descendants of illegitimate sons of Yoritomo. Nabeshima was the Territorial Prince of Hizen, one of the Kokushiu daimios, whose direct descendant is now the Marquis Nabeshima, and was some years ago Japanese minister at Rome.

[3] *Vide* p. 313.

CHAPT. LXIV.—Nagasaki, in the province of Hizen, being a port at which vessels of other countries touch, has dominion over three nationalities.[1] The administration of this place should be entrusted to the chief member of the Gorōjiu.

The resident guard shall consist of four chiefs from among the Fudai samurai, each in receipt of 3,000 koku upwards. They shall each be provided with a riding horse and foot soldiers, and are salaried officers.

CHAPT. LXV.—In the revolution of nature, lands, houses, mountains, rivers, and ferries become damaged and ruined, and considerable outlay is requisite to put them in repair.

A part of such expenses is to be borne by the neighbouring province in proportion to the number of koku it produces. This tax is called "Provincial thank-tribute."

Yoritomo introduced this custom, taking example from the period of the sages; the principle is by no means a selfish idea of my own. It is a custom which shall be observed by future generations for ever.

CHAPT. LXVI.—Regarding thoroughfares, both in Government territory and throughout the empire, 36 feet is the proper width of the "great sea road"; but including the trees on either side, it should have a uniform width of 120 feet; 18 feet is the proper width of the "small sea road"; but including the margins on either side it should be of a uniform width of 60 feet.

Twelve feet is the proper width of cross-roads and horse roads; inclusive of the side-walks, 30 feet should be the uniform width.

Six feet is the proper uniform width of foot-paths, inclusive of margins on either side.

Three feet is the proper uniform width of by-paths, and paths through the fields, inclusive of margins on either side.

On either bank of a river, where crossed by a ferry, there should be an open space of 360 feet or thereabouts.

Post houses have been established at intervals for the dispatch of public business, and are also of manifest assistance to foot passengers.

This is an ancient regulation, handed down from Oinos'ke, an ancestor of the Tokugawa.

[1] Japanese, Chinese and Dutch, the two latter the only foreigners permitted to reside in Japan.

CHAPT. LXVII.—The several taxes leviable on hills, rivers, seas, and ports, should not be exacted irregularly. They should suffice for the current expenses of the Imperial household.

CHAPT. LXVIII.—Dwellings shall not be erected on ground under cultivation by husbandmen, as the growth of bamboos and trees round the walls is prejudicial to the crops.

When disputes arising from a question of new and old plantations is referred for decision, the test is in the height of the trees forming the enclosure of such plantation.

If they are seen to be three feet high, the plantation may be known to be an old one; if they are not three feet high, the plantation is a new one, and the trees should be cut down, and the party in the wrong confined to his house for one hundred days.

CHAPT. LXIX.—If the boughs of large trees in the immediate neighbourhood of villages in which the houses are built consecutively, become so large as to interfere with the drying of grain, or to interrupt the payment of annual tribute, in the first place the branches shall be cut off; and if that is not sufficient the whole tree shall be cut down.

Overshadowing branches should be lopped off annually.

CHAPT. LXX.—Although there are many bad roads and bridges in the frontier villages of the different provinces, there is a great deal of carelessness and neglect evinced, and the consequence is great inconvenience to travellers.

The care of aqueducts for water in case of fire also is neglected, and water is allowed to stagnate in the drains, because it is not the business of any particular individual to look after them. And the deepening or filling in of the beds of rivers is overlooked as entailing trouble.

Circular instructions should be issued in the customary years from the Inspectorate, that such neglect cease to exist.

CHAPT. LXXI.—From of old the harmony between lord and vassal has been likened to that existing between water and fish. Ought it not to be so? It is, indeed, no difficult thing! If the golden rule, "Do not unto others that which you would not have others do to you," be so firmly grasped in the heart as not to be lost sight of for a moment, the force of example will induce inferiors to conform to this virtuous teaching; and not only immediate attendants, but the population at large, will naturally flow smoothly along as water to its outlet.

CHAPT. LXXII.—My body, and the bodies of others, being born in the "Empire of the Gods," to adopt the teachings of other countries *in toto*, such as Confucian, Buddhist, and Tauist doctrines, and to apply one's whole and undivided attention to them, would in short be to desert one's own master, and transfer one's fidelity to another. Is not this to forget the origin of one's being?

Judging from a medium and unprejudiced point of view, a clear decision should be arrived at as to what is proper to adopt, what to reject. The delusions of witchcraft and superstitious arts should on no account be unquestionably accepted; but on the other hand they should not be forcibly and obstinately rejected.

CHAPT. LXXIII.—Virtuous men have said both in poetry and standard works that houses of debauch for women of pleasure, and for street-walkers, are the worm-eaten spots of cities and towns. But they are necessary evils, which if forcibly abolished, men of unrighteous principles would become like ravelled thread, and there would be no end to daily punishment and flogging.

These separate characters are intended to suffice as a general basis to the law of the Empire; but with regard to minute details affecting the inferior classes individually, learn the wide benevolence of Kōsō, of the Kan dynasty.

CHAPT. LXXIV.—As a pattern for the house of Tokugawa, adjust your line by that of the Lord of Kamakura (Yoritomo); you may not adopt the fashions of other houses. Nevertheless, the tendencies of the Lord of Kōmatsu should not be entirely rejected.[1]

CHAPT. LXXV.—Although it is undoubtedly an ancient custom for a vassal to follow his Lord in death, there is not the slightest reason in the practice. Confucius has ridiculed the making of Yo. These practices are strictly forbidden, more especially to primary retainers, and also to secondary retainers even to the lowest.

He is the opposite of a faithful servant who disregards this prohibition; his posterity shall be impoverished by the confiscation of his property as a warning to those who disobey the laws.[2]

[1] Kōmatsu, the posthumous name of Higemori, Kiyomori's eldest son, who lied before his father, whose virtues and mercy were as prominent as his father's rices and cruelty. *Vide* pp. 101 and 132.

[2] The compulsory observation of this practice was forbidden by the Emperor

CHAP. LXXVI.—A knowledge of military tactics, and the art of managing an army, are nothing but necessary accomplishments in a leader.

An ordinary man is like a manufactured article, he is not composed of many bodies. Every manufactured article has its own separate use, and a hammer will not answer the purpose of a chisel, nor can a gimlet be used for the purpose of a saw.

In precisely the same manner, every individual man has a special use. Make use of a wise man's wisdom; of a brave man's courage; of a strong man's strength; of a weak man's weakness; of each, in short, acording to his individual capability; for just as a gimlet will not answer the purpose of a saw, neither will an ignorant or a weak man answer the purpose of a strong man, and should therefore not be employed in his stead. The substance of this is inculcated as an incipient principle by the five virtues; and the adoption or disregard of this principle tests the ability or inability of a chief.

In looking at the principle again as applied to men who are employed for purposes of war, unity of feeling among one another and mutual regard between high and low, will ensure peace and tranquillity in the Empire without having recourse to arms. This does not apply exclusively to times of war, but is equally applicable to all occasions.

CHAPT. LXXVII.—When military power becomes full to overflowing, even in the absence of all ambition, the proper veneration for the "Throne of Divine blessings" is apt to become blunted; and there arrives a tendency, as has been demonstrated in the persons of so many of old, to remissness in respect, and oblivion of the origin of the "Kingdom of the Gods,"—the source of self-desire is apt to overflow. Such a sin is not a light one, and will be undoubtedly followed by annihilation from Heaven.

Suinin, and its voluntary observation was several times forbidden by edicts of subsequent Emperors. It still continued, however, and there were frequent occasions not only in Iyeyasu's lifetime, but afterwards, notwithstanding his drastic prohibition, in which vassals killed themselves on their lord's death. Daté Masamune, one of the most celebrated of the territorial princes, both during Iyeyasu's lifetime and in his son's, when on his deathbed, honoured his retainers by selecting those who were to follow him in death, all of whom committed *hara-kiri* when he died. On the death of Iyemitsu, the third of the Tokugawa Shōguns, two of the daimios, who must have been well acquainted with the legacy of Iyeyasu, also committed *hara-kiri*.

CHAPT. LXXVIII.—The Shinnō and the several Miya, being related to the son of Heaven, should be treated with the highest respect. This immediately concerns the Shōshō. You should not set yourself in opposition to the Kugé, who by ancient custom come next in order. Impolite behaviour and a rough and indifferent manner are to be avoided.[1]

CHAPT. LXXIX.—There are five families whose heads are by custom Guests of honour; and mindful of the circumstances on record from which this custom originated, your intercourse with them should resemble the mutual friendship of neighbouring states. The manners, customs, and fashions of their houses are not under the care of the Tokugawa family; nevertheless, if any one among them evince contempt towards superiors, or injure the people by tyrannical oppression, he should be immediately reprimanded. This is a duty of the "Barbarian destroying Shōgun," and one which should not be delayed for a moment.[2]

CHAPT. LXXX.—With regard to the posterity of Owari, Kishiu, and Mito, and the fifteen Kamon immediately following them, the fortune descends to the eldest male child, and the revenue of their possessions shall not be divided among the remaining children. These last should choose some family of good pedigree and great wealth, and marry into it. The family thus allied shall rank only with the Kamon, who should receive them with amity. The thirteen families, however, may not become thus united.

CHAPT. LXXXI.—Daimiō with an annual revenue of 100,000 koku and upwards,—the Gorōjiu,—public officers of the higher grades, and all Generals though in receipt of small incomes, are entitled to the same distinguishing insignia, etc., as the Lord of a province or a castle.

CHAPT.—LXXXII.—The travelling *suites* of Fudai and Tozama, and likewise higher grades of officers, who may be on their way to assume their duties at Yedo, or returning from Yedo after being relieved, shall strictly observe the established rules. They shall not carry their flowery mani-

[1] Shinnō is the Prince Imperial and Miya are the other princes of the Imperial family. Shōshō (properly Sho-shi-dai) was the Shōgun's representative at Kioto. *Vide* Chapt. LX.

[2] The five families were those of the five greatest territorial princes, who on their annual arrival in Yedo were entitled to the courtesy of being met and escorted to their palaces in the capital by a high officer of the Shōgun.

festations beyond the adjusted limits, neither shall they in aught detract from the regulations. They shall not disturb or harass the people at the post-houses, being puffed up with military pomp.

This subject should be impressed upon their attention by the Gorōjiu at the time of leave taking.

CHAPT. LXXXIII.—Regarding the charges for boats and rafts,—men and horses, horse-hire, boat-hire, porterage, and so on should be regulated by the distance to be travelled, and weight by scale. This regulation should be made generally known to prevent misunderstanding.

The Horse-express, and Government Carriers, however, are not included in this regulation: particular care should be taken to afford them every facility for speedy locomotion.

CHAPT. LXXXIV (Omitted).—Regulates the complimentary presents to be made by Daimio to the Gorōjiu.

CHAPT. LXXXV.—Among the many employés there will be some who flatter, adulate, and endeavour to bribe influential men having authority; again there will be others, true men, who evince a grave and decorous respect towards their superiors.

The faithful and unfaithful are clearly apparent among these, and ignorance in distinguishing between them tends to degeneracy in the Government. Much reflection and grave consideration is requisite; and a liberality in punishment and reward.

CHAPT. LXXXVI.—Regarding the erection of (temples called) "Ji-in" and "Sam-mon."[1] At the time I established the "Sandal Grove," an embarrassing remonstrance was

[1] "Ji-in" means simply a Buddhist Temple or Monastery. Sandal Grove is the literal translation of the word Danrin, which is a fanciful term also for Buddhist Temples or Monasteries. Sam-mon means the front gate of a Buddhist Temple, but it is specifically used to denote Enriaku, the Temple of the Tendai Sect of Buddhists in Japan on Mount Hiyei, founded by the Emperor Kwammu (782–806), the first Emperor to establish his capital at Kioto, destroyed by Nobunaga in 1591 (p. 174), and restored, though with very diminished splendour, by Iyeyasu. The Tendai sect took their name from Mount Tien-tai in China, where their doctrine was first preached, and where the welfare of the Emperor of China was specially prayed for. Kwammu erected an exact replica of the Chinese Temple on Mount Hiyei, intending that the welfare of the Kioto Court should be specially prayed for as was that of China in the original Temple at Tien-tai. It was known as *the* Sam-mon, and the Abbot's grievance was, that Iyeyasu had extended the honourable term to the other Temples which he built in Yedo and elsewhere.

made by the Chief Priest of the Sect of Tendai (Buddhist). He argued thus:-

"My mountain is situated immediately under the Three felicitous stars exactly in the centre of the heavens, by permission of a former Emperor, who intended that it should give adequate protection to the Imperial Palace of the Empire. The idea was taken from the Tendai Sam-mon, instituted for the defence and protection of the Imperial Capital of another Empire [China]; and for this reason the term Sam-mon can be properly applied to my mountain alone throughout the Empire of the Rising Sun. By what right does the Shōgun raise another Sam-mon?"

On this occasion I was dumb before him! But at last I found words, and replied that I had established it in perpetuity in order that the omniscient Being of Kinjo [Emperor at the time] might attain eternal longevity! I at the same time made a reform in the nomination of the "Ji-in" throughout the Sixty-six provinces and seventy-three different temples came to be termed "Sam-mon." A memorandum was drawn up, setting forth their number and situation, and sent to the chief temple of Tendai on the 11th day of the fourth moon of the 2nd year of Bunroku (A.D. 1593).

From the first, though cognizant of the law, I yet wilfully made an innovation. This should not be done.

CHAPT. LXXXVII.—The title of Sei-Tai-Shōgun originated in the person of Yoritomo, and the ceremonies observed on appointment are the bestowal of the "Sancho-no-Fuyétsu" and "Chingo-no-In," and the grant of the "Sambo-no-Gōréi" by the Emperor.

This office is similar to that of "Shingi-K'wan," [1] inasmuch as samurai employed under it to fill official situations, high

[1] Shingi Kwan—more accurately Jingi Kwan—was, in former ages, the department of the Imperial Government which administered all matters connected with the Shintō religion, both Temples and ceremonies. The writer has consulted several Japanese friends in London as to the other terms in this chapter, but in the absence of reference books and of the original Japanese version of the Legacy, none are able to explain or even translate them any more than the writer. Sanchō-no-Fuyétsu probably refers to a sword bestowed by the Emperor on the Shōgun at his investiture, though Fuyetsu strictly means battle-axe. Sambo-no-Gōréi probably means the orders or commands of the three precious things—Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood; and Chingo-no-In, the protecting palace, perhaps the castle of Nijō. The two last explanations are in the circumstances little better than guess-work as Sambō and In both have many meanings, varying according to the original Chinese characters with which they are written.

and low alike, are required, upon the death of a blood relation, to retire into solitary confinement to purify themselves from contaminating uncleanness, in accordance with ancient custom. This custom should be carefully and circumspectly maintained.

CHAPT. LXXXVIII.—To neglect one's daily occupation in gambling and excess in wine to stupefaction, is to rob the clear day light: and although to yield to this can hardly be pronounced an insubordination, it is a practice eminently calculated to have an evil effect upon the lower classes, eventually resulting in the destruction of their families and the extermination of their lives.

It has been well said that "To be a teacher and not to teach, is the fault of the teacher; but to neglect his teaching is the fault of the pupil." By this rule the severity or leniency of the punishment should depend upon circumstances.

CHAPT. LXXXIX.—When the four classes neglect their several avocations, they are reduced to hunger and cold, and eventually commence to break the laws, and vex and disturb mankind. These are serious crimes, and should be distinguished as capitally punishable.

Incendiaries, forgers of seals, poisoners, forgers of coin, all these ruffians are liable to the severe punishments of burning, exposition of the head after decapitation, and crucifixion and transfixion.

CHAPT. XC.—In cases of investigation, if public and martial intimidating power is properly directed, there is nothing between Heaven and Earth, in the distant abodes of the Barbarians throughout the four quarters of the globe, at the roots of the grass, or even under the earth, which cannot be brought to light. The only thing which is difficult to discover is the thread of the heart of man. Yoritomo adopted an ingenious plan of Sokutaku of the Daito dynasty,[1] and caused the Sotsu-hearts of the lower orders to be reflected by suspending gold and silver, or advertising rewards, on notice boards which were exhibited in the thoroughfares and streets of the capitals.

This custom is still kept up; but it is to be feared that there is an indisposition on the part of samurai to respond to the spirit of this principle of reflection.

[1] Daito, an Imperial dynasty of China.

CHAPT. XCI.—When the Imperial mode of government is unclear, the five grains do not ripen.

When punishments and executions abound in the Empire, it may be shown that the Shōgun is without the virtue of benevolence, and degenerate. Such crises should induce reflection upon past conduct and concern not to act remissly or carelessly.[1]

CHAPT. XCII.—When laws are made by the eminent and issued to the people, a nonconformity to the provisions of such laws on the part of the eminent engenders ridicule and opposition on the part of the lower orders.

It is no easy matter to make one's practice conform to what one preaches; so that it is incumbent to face one's own self, and investigate each particle of conduct with grinding torture.

CHAPT. XCIII.—When a Kokushiu or Riōshiu of great wealth shall unwittingly commit a fault against the Shōgun, or in the event of a difference of opinion between them, it hardly amounts to a punishable crime; but when it is of such a nature as not to admit of its being lightly passed over, instead of criminating the offender, appoint him some arduous duty incommensurate with the amount of his revenue.[2]

CHAPT. XCIV.—The departure from life of the Emperor, the Imperial Sire, the Imperial spouse or the Imperial mistresses, or any of the Imperial blood relations, are occasions of profound darkness, and great and ominous calamity for the whole Empire. In high antiquity on such occasions the eight sounds[3] were suppressed within the four seas; and holidays and festivals on the 1st day of the year and months, the "Gosek'ku," the feast of the first appearance of the Boar, and all kinds of festivals were observed in silence.

When an occasion of public mourning arises, a fixed term of mourning should be appointed for observance by the

[1] The five grains are rice, barley, millet, sorghum and beans. Wheat is included in barley.

[2] This was the method employed by Iyeyasu, when he advised Hideyori to rebuild the Temple of Daibutsu at Osaka.

[3] The eight sounds included music, dramatic performances, street cries, etc. The Go Sekku were the five principal annual festivals. The last occasion of great public mourning was on the death of the Dowager Empress in 1897. All music, etc., was then strictly forbidden throughout the Empire for one month.

Ministers of State, the "Sanko," [1] the Shōgun in office at the time, and by all Government officers; during which every instrument that emits a sound, of what kind soever, shall cease.

CHAPT. XCV.—It is the duty of the Shōgun to provide the necessary expenses upon the accession of the Emperor to the throne, and for the "Daijoyé." They should not be parsimoniously diminished in an infinity of ways.

CHAPT. XCVI.—On those occasions when foreigners come to offer presents, they should be entertained with proper abundance and uniform politeness. The beauty and elegance of the military accoutrements and the caparisons of the horses should be made to appear to the utmost advantage. From the port at which the ship arrives, as far as the Yedo capital, whether the road lie through Government or other territory, the castles and moats, and all the houses on the way should be in a thorough and complete state of repair, that the broad and extensive affluence, and the intrepidity of the military power of the Empire may shine forth. The whole management should be undertaken by the Ministers of the Shōgun.

CHAPT. XCVII.—When foreign vessels arrive by chance at our shores information of the fact shall immediately be given, and by means of written communication through an interpreter their business shall be learned. According to circumstances, they shall be treated with commiseration and benevolence, or with dignified reserve. In all cases a guard shall be placed on board for their restraint.

CHAPT. XCVIII.—The accessor to the imperial throne should look upon the people as one who nourishes an infant. How much more should the Shōgun to whom the Empire is entrusted cherish this feeling. The term applied to this feeling is "benevolence"; and benevolence includes the whole of the five relations. Further through its practice the noble and ignoble become apparent.

I, having learnt this, distinguish between the attachment of the Fudai and the reserve of the Tozama; nor is this discrimination at all at variance with Heavenly principles; it is by no means a partial and one-sided idea of my own.

[1] The Sankō were the three principal ministers of state at the Imperial Court at Kioto, the Daijo Daijin, the Prime Minister, and the Sa Daijin and U Daijin—the ministers of the Left and Right. In Japan, the left takes precedence of the right.

I cannot particularly accord this for transmission to posterity by tongue or pen; but it is a subject which will naturally develop itself if viewed with deep attention from a medium point between the two extremes.

CHAPT. XCIX.—When rewards and punishments are not properly administered, faithful servants are hidden, and not made manifest; when they are properly regulated all mankind esteem the one and dread the other.

There should not be the difference of the slightest particle of dust either in excess or insufficiency; but they should be administered with self-possession, and after deep reflection.

Confucius has exemplified my meaning in his "Comments on the Law of the Mind."

CHAPT. C.—Since I have attained to my present office, I have increased and diminished the ancient examples of successive generations of the house of Gen; and although I have drawn up these several heads of rules of conduct, my object has been to be a transmitter, not a framer. I have not allowed myself to be in the slightest degree influenced by selfish motives; but have rather embodied the foregoing Chapters as an example, which, although it may not hit the mark, will not be very far wide.

In all questions of policy cherish precedents and do not give exclusive attention to small or large matters; let this be the rule of your conduct.

There are further subjects I would bring under notice, but I have no leisure.

Let my posterity thoroughly practise with their bodies the particulars I have above declared. They are not permitted to be looked upon save by the Fudai-Gorōjiu. In them I have exposed and laid bare the limited reflections of my breast. Let not future generations be induced to ridicule me as having the heart of a venerable old grandmother.

I bequeath this record to my posterity.

APPENDIX VI

LIST OF AUTHORITIES CONSULTED

TAVERNIER	Receuil des Plusieurs Relations. Part II. Japan	1681
L'ABBÉ DE T.	History of the Church in Japan	1707
KAEMPFER	History of Japan. (Reprinted in three volumes, 1906)	1727
ALCOCK	Capital of the Tycoon. Two volumes	1863
DICKSON	Japan	1869
MITFORD	Tales of Old Japan. Two volumes	1871
ADAMS	History of Japan. Two volumes	1874
GRIFFIS	The Mikado's Empire	1876
THE JAPAN MAIL		1870–1877
CHAMBERLAIN	Classical Poetry of the Japanese	1880
BLACK	Young Japan. Two volumes	1881
MAUNDE THOMPSON (Editor)	Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615–1622. Printed for the Hakluyt Society	1883
SATOW and HAWES	Murray's Handbook. Second edition	1884
DENNING	Life and Times of Hideyoshi	1890
BATCHELOR	The Ainu of Japan	1892
MURRAY	Japan. The Story of the Nations	1896
CHAMBERLAIN	Things Japanese. Third edition	1898
ASTON	A History of Japanese Literature	1899
SATOW (Editor)	The Voyage of John Saris to Japan in 1613. Printed for the Hakluyt Society	1900
ASTON	Shinto. The Way of the Gods	1905

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

SATOW . .	The Geography of Japan . . .	Vol.	1
„ . .	The Shintō Temples of Ise . . .	„	2
„ . .	The Revival of Pure Shintō . .	„	3
ASTON . .	An Ancient Japanese Classic . .	„	3
GRIGSBY .	The Legacy of Iyeyasu . . .	„	3
MCCLATCHIE .	Japanese Heraldry	„	5
LONGFORD .	The Japanese Penal Codes . . .	„	5
GUBBINS .	Introduction of Christianity into Japan and China	„	6
ATKINSON .	Water Supply of Tokio . . .	„	6
MCCLATCHIE .	The Castle of Yedo	„	6
ASTON . .	Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea . .	„	6
HATTORI .	Destructive Earthquakes in Japan	„	6
SATOW . .	The Church of Yamaguchi, 1550–1586	„	7
STOUT . .	Inscriptions in Shimabara and Amakusa	„	7
ANDERSON . .	A History of Japanese Art . . .	„	7
ASTON . .	H.M.S. *Phaeton* at Nagasaki in 1808 .	„	7
SUMMERS .	Notes on Osaka	„	7
GUBBINS .	Hideyoshi and the Satsuma Clan in the Sixteenth Century	„	8
ASTON . .	Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea. Parts II. and III.	„	9
WOOLLEY .	Historical Notes on Nagasaki . .	„	9
MILNE . .	The Pitdwellers of Yezo and the Kurile Islands	„	10
CHAMBERLAIN	Translation of the Kojiki . . .	„	10
ASTON . .	Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea. Part IV.	„	11
GEERTS . .	The Arima Rebellion and the Conduct of Koeckebecker	„	11
SUMMERS .	Buddhism. Translations concerning its Introduction into Japan . . .	„	14
GUBBINS .	The Feudal System under the Tokugawa Shōguns	„	15
ASTON . .	Early Japanese History . . .	„	16
CLEMENTS .	The Tokugawa Princes of Mito . .	„	18

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